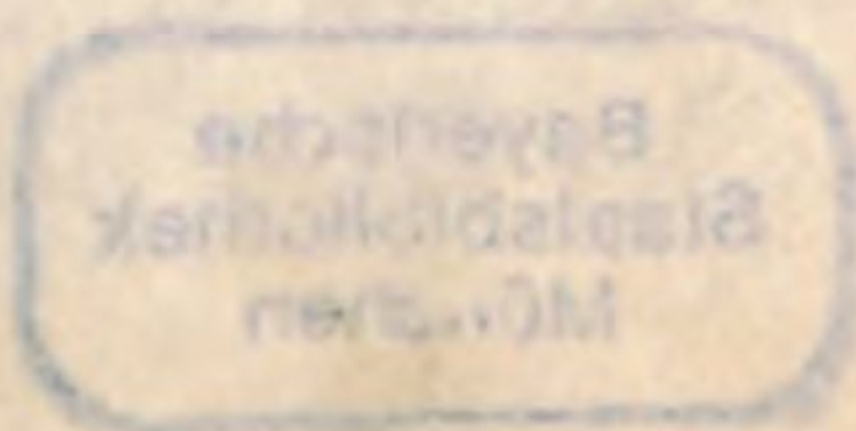


*A Collection of Pamphlets
on the
Church of Scotland,*

*By D^r Burn, D^r Candlish, D^r Chalmers,
D^r Cook, Collins, Duff, Dunlop, Gibs,
D^r Gordon, Hamilton, Irving Skinner,
and others.*

*Bound in 3 Vols, with an Alphabetical
Index.*

1711 - 1842



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Fanatical Moderation :

O R,

Unparalell'd Villany

D I S P L A Y ' D.

B E I N G

A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE of the
Barbarous Murther committed upon the most
Reverend Father in God, Dr. *James Sharpe*,
Lord Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, by the *Scotch*
Presbyterians, May the 3d 1679.

W I T H

The Account at large, of an Attempt upon his
Life Anno 1668. by one MITCHEL a *Presbyte-*
rian Minister, for which he was Hang'd, Anno 1674.
Interspers'd with several Original Papers, fully De-
monstrating the Designs of the *Fanatick Party* in that
Kingdom and elsewhere, to be directly intended
for the Subversion both of

Church and State.

L O N D O N :

Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible against St.
Dunstan's Church, and R. Gosling at the Mitre near
the *Inner-Temple Gate*, Fleet-street. 1711. Price 1 s.



BEING
A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE of the
Barbarous Murder committed upon the most
Reverend Father in God, Dr. James Sharpe,
Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, by the Scotch
Tribunals, May the 2d 1753.

WITH
The Account at large, of an Attempt upon his
Life & Limbs, by one MITCHELL a Presbyter.
The Minister, for which he was hang'd, June 1754.
Interpers'd with several Original Papers, fully de-
monstrating the Designs of the Fawcitt Party in that
Kingdom, and elsewhere, to be directly intended
for the Subversion both of

Church and State.

LONDON:

Printed for E. Smith at the Dial and Bible against St.
Dunstons Church, and R. Gosling at the Mitre near
the Temple Gate, 1755. Price 1 s.

S I R,

TH E Subject of this Letter is a faithful Narrative of the Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution of one of our *Presbyterian Preachers*, who made an Attempt on the Sacred Person of the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, in the Month of *July*, 1668. The Story is very Comprehensive, and will invite me to speak of many particular Things and Persons, and it will be Difficult for me to pass through it all, without touching a little upon Publick Affairs; in doing of which, I shall endeavour to perform the Part of a faithful Historian, in writing nothing but matter of Fact.

I have already fix'd the Beginning of this Story in the Month of *July*, 1668. But the execrable Wretch resolv'd to do the Fact two Years before, and Languish'd all the Time for want of an Opportunity to Execute his Inhuman Design. At last, having observ'd, that the Lord Primate us'd always to go about this Town in his Coach, he resolv'd to Pistol him in it; and accordingly, on *Saturday* of the aforesaid Month, discharged a Pistol, loaden with three Bullets, at him; which were intercepted by the Arm of the Lord Bishop of *Orkney*, who at the same instant was getting into his *Grace's* Coach: As soon as he had Shot, he walked fast away; and as he cross'd the Street, the Primate got a view of his Face. He was not immediately pursu'd, which gave him Opportunity to Escape into the House of one *Ferguson*, an ejected Minister; which being in an obscure Place of the Town, he had prepar'd for a Retreat, in Case he could get safe thither.

There, having disguised himself by putting on a Perriwig, and changing his Cloaths; he immediately went into the Street again; and made as great a bustle as any in the Throng, to find out the *Assassin*, who had Shot at the Primate; and, as he hop'd, had Kill'd him in his Coach. He was known by none in the Crowd, but by three of his Confederates, who had come to Town on purpose to Assist him in his bloody Design.

Their Designations, or Titles, were *Barscob*, *Mandroget*, and Major *Lermouth*; who had been Ring-leaders in the

Rebellion at *Pentland-Hills*, in the Year 1668. the *Assassin* joyn'd himself with these three; and after a Consultation, what they should do for their further Security, they unanimously resolv'd to retire into the Garden of Sir *Archibald Primrose*, the Lord Chief Justice, who had for many Years the Misfortune to be esteem'd a Favourer of the *Fanatical* Faction; tho' it be hard to imagine, how a Man, that hath gotten so great an Estate by the King's Royal Bounty, should have so much Favour for the worst of his Subjects, unless he hath lost all sense of Gratitude and Honour.

Certain it is, That there are such Monsters of Disloyalty, and Ingratitude in the World; and as certain it is, (tho' he be not one of them) that the Credit he hath with that Party, encouraged this Murnival of Rebels and Murderers, to shelter themselves the following Night within his Precincts, rather than any other Man's in this Populous Town. But the Morning approaching, they thought it safer to quit the Town; and the other three conducting Mr. *James Mitchel*, (for that's the Name of this abominable Man) he made a final Escape by their Assistance, and was never after seen in this Country, till the latter End of 1673. In this Interval betwixt *July*, 68. and the latter End of 73. he had Rambled through *Holland*, *England* and *Ireland*; from whence he return'd to his Countrey, resolv'd (at it seems) to Assassinate the Primate again. Not long after his Return, he Married, and repair'd with his Wife to *Edinburgh*; presuming, that after more than five Years Absence, he might live *incognito* here, at least so long, till he could find another Opportunity to Execute his bloody Design. In order to which, he hir'd a Shop within a Door or two of the *Primate's* Lodgings, where his Wife pretended to sell Tobacco and Brandy, and such like things.

But he had not long frequented there, before he was discover'd, and Apprehended upon Suspicion; and when he was taken (which was on the same Day of the Week, and in the same Place, where he had formerly stood to commit the Fact) there were two Pistols found about him, in Size and Shape, like that which the Primate saw him hold in his Hand, immediately after he had shot at his *Grave*; and upon search, they were also found to be charg'd with three Bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir *William Sharp*, he was immediately brought to his Brother the Primate's Lodgings; and though a great Crowd had pressed in after him, yet his *Grace* knew him at first sight from all the rest, (such a deep impression the transient View he got of him, after the Shot, had made upon him) and going strait up to him,

him, without any Hesitation, he said unto him, *You, Sir, are the Man*; upon which the Wretch trembled, and grew Pale.

Not long after, he was Conven'd before the Privy Council, and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, his Majesty's High Commissioner then sitting in Council, but he would confess nothing before them; which made the Right Honourable *Board* depute a Committee for his farther Examination: Before which he freely confess'd the Fact, and afterwards acknowledged and sign'd his Confession before the King's High Commissioner sitting in Council, with the Lord *Halton* the Treasurer Deputy, the Earl of *Rothes* Lord Chancellor, and some other of the Council Subscrib'd as Witnesses; and this Paper was brought at his Tryal against him as a *judicial* Confession of his Crime.

After this Examination of him before his Majesty's High Commissioner sitting in Council (which happened in *February* 1674) he was put upon his Tryal in the Criminal Court. But after his *Indictment* was read, he deny'd it, and retracted the Confession, which he had freely made without any promise of Pardon before the High Commissioner, and the Council; upon which Sir *John Nisbet*, his Majesty's Advocate (who, notwithstanding his fair Pretensions to the Church, either Loves or Fears the *Fanatical Faction* too much) seem'd very much surpriz'd, and desist'd immediately from his Prosecution, desiring the Judges to Adjourn the Court; and from that time would never pursue the Murderous Villain again, although he was oblig'd by his Office to do it, as well as by the Archbishop; who in *Causa Sanguinis* would not pursue him himself. The Judges also at that time had no great Stomach to sit upon the Tryal of this bloody Saint: So that the Privy-Council were forced to send him Prisoner to the *Basse* (a Rock in the *Forth*) where he continued till the latter End of *December*, when the Privy-Council sent for him to be Try'd again.

About this Time it was rumour'd about Town and Country, that the *Whigs* (for so we call *Fanatics*) design'd to take off both the Archbishops, and some other Bishops by Assassination; and likewise vehement Suspicions and Presumptions were found, that they had the like Design on other eminent Persons, who were most concern'd, and resolv'd to see them reduc'd to Order and Obedience. And therefore the Council thought it expedient, to prevent such barbarous Attempts, and secure the Lives of his Majesty's faithful Ministers, to bring Mr. *Mitchel* to publick Justice, that the

Remonstrator-Presbyterians of our Country might see, what their *Clements* and *Ravillacs* were to expect.

Since the Duke of *Lauderdale* came last hither, Sir *John Nisbet* resign'd his Charge, and his Majesty put Sir *George Mackenzy*, a Learned and Worthy Gentleman into his Place; who in Obedience to the Order of the Privy-Council, pursu'd this common Enemy of Mankind, with a Courage and Zeal, that became such a gallant Man, and a good Christian, although he foresaw, he must for ever disoblige that implacable Party, which hath sworn to extirpate Episcopacy here.

You may easily judge with what Deliberation and Caution this Miscreant's Process was made; seeing his Tryal was dependant four Days: For he was Arraign'd on *Monday* the Seventh of *January* in the Morning, and receiv'd not Sentence till the following *Thursday* at Two in the Afternoon. As the Privy Council were very Just, so were they exceeding Merciful to this inhuman Man: For at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate, they commanded Sir *George Lockhart*, one of the best Lawyers of this Nation, to be of his Council; and had he been the greatest Subject of the three Kingdoms, his Cause could not have been more strenuously defended, nor his Process made with more Care.

The first Day was spent in reading the *Indictment*, and discussing some preparatory Doubts, necessary to be determin'd by an *Interlocutory* Sentence, before the *Jury* could be Impannell'd, and the Witnesses Sworn. The Doubts were three: *First*, Whether that Confession, which the Prisoner made before the King's High Commissioner, and the Privy-Council sitting in Council, were *Judicial* or *Extrajudicial*? The *Second* was, Whether if this Confession should be made appear to be upon hopes or promise of Pardon, it should not serve for the Prisoner's Exculpation? And the *Third* was, Whether by a certain Act of Parliament made for the Security of his Majesty's Privy Counsellors and Officers, the attempted Assassination of the Primate, who was a Privy-Counsellor, were Capital, or no? All which Preliminaries, the Judges deliberated upon, and Debated among themselves on *Tuesday*, and on *Wednesday* following pronounced their *Interlocutory* Sentence in the Affirmative upon the several Heads.

After the Sentence was pronounc'd, the Jury was Impannell'd, and the Witnesses Sworn; some of whose Depositions I shall set down as I heard them.

The Keeper of the * *Tolbooth's* Son Depon'd, That having ask'd the Prisoner, how he could do such a Barbarous Action

in cold Blood, against a Man that had never done him wrong? He Answer'd, That it was not done in cold Blood; for the Blood of the Saints was reaking yet at the *Cross* in *Edinburgh*. By the *Saints* he meant the *Rebels* at *Pentland-Hills* in 1666. One of which he himself had been; and some Principals whereof, that were taken in the Field, had been Executed about two Years before at the *Cross* in *Edinburgh*.

The Lord Bishop of *Galloway* (whom no good Churchman here ought to mention without Honour and Respect) having first asserted the Privilege that is granted to Bishops, to have their Depositions taken at home, according to the Civil and Canon-Law; and protested that his Obedience to the Court should be no prejudice to that Privilege; Depo'n'd, That having ask'd the Prisoner, What mov'd him to make such a Bloody Attempt on an Innocent Man? He Answer'd, That he did it, because he apprehended him to be an Enemy to the People of God.

The Lord *Halton* Deposed, That having ask'd him, how he durst be so wicked, as to do such an execrable Fact? He answer'd, That he did it, because the Archbishop was an Enemy to the Godly People of the *West*.

Furthermore, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Halton*, testify'd upon Oath, That he own'd the Confession produc'd in Court before the Privy Council, and acknowledged their Names, which were Subscrib'd under it, and the Prisoner could not deny his.

These Depositions being taken, there was no way left to save the Prisoner, but by making it appear, that he had made this Confession upon Promise, or Hopes of Pardon; and therefore his Advocates desir'd, that the Lord Chancellor might be call'd to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon Promise, or Oath, to endeavour to secure Life and Limb, as he alledg'd his Lordship did. But he declar'd upon the Oath he had taken, that he never made any such Promise or Oath unto him: And the Duke of *Lauderdale* and the Lord *Halton* being also call'd to Depone upon that particular, Testify'd, That they never knew, that the Lord Chancellor, or any other, had encourag'd him to make that Confession upon Hopes or Promise of Pardon; which if it could have been legally prov'd, he must have been Absolv'd.

The impudent Villain likewise desir'd the Judges, that the Primate himself might be cited into the Court, to declare upon Oath, if he did not encourage him to confess upon a Promise to endeavour to procure his Pardon; to which being Sworn, he answer'd, That immediately after his
Appre-

Apprehension, he took him aside to Discourse with him in Private, where he did assure him he forgave him, and would endeavour to save him from publick Justice, if he would confess the Fact; but that upon this Encouragement, he would make no Confession, nor ever after offer'd any to him; so that tho' he still forgave him, yet he did not conceive himself bound to endeavour his Preservation after more than five Years Obstinatation in his Crime.

There were many other Witnesses ready to Depone, of which there was no need. One of them could have testify'd. That he heard him say, that he would do the Fact, if it were to be done again: And another could have Depon'd, that he heard him say, Let me but Shoot at him again, and I'll be content to be Hang'd if I miss. The *Fury*, which consisted of Fifteen Gentlemen, unanimously found him Guilty; and when Sentence was pronounc'd, That he should be carried to the common Place of Execution, and there be Hang'd, he told the Judges, that he took it as from GOD, but not from them.

Since he was Condemn'd, he desir'd that some Conventicle Ministers that were Imprison'd with him, might be admitted to give him Comfort, and obstinately refused the Assistance of the Ministers of our Church. However, one of them went to him to remind him of the Murder he was Guilty of in the Eyes of God, tho' he suffer'd him not to effectuate his Design. But instead of making any impression on his hardned Heart, or receiving common acknowledgments for his good Will, he received nothing from him but Reproaches, being told by him that he was a Murderer of Souls, and had the Blood of Souls to answer for, with many more Rude and Enthusiastick Expressions.

He was a lean hollow-cheek'd Man, of a turbulent Countenance, and had the Air of an *Assassin* as much as a Man could have. He came with his Perriwig Powder'd to the Bar, and behav'd himself there, with as much Assurance as Men devoted to do Mischief by their Principles and Complexion, resolve beforehand always to do.

As for his Original, 'tis so obscure, that the mean Proletarian Condition of his Parents affords me no Notice of his Birth. And for his Education, after he had passed through the subsidiary part of Learning, he was sent to the *College of Edinburgh* in the time of the late Usurpation; where he made very small progress in any part of good Literature, but apply'd himself to the reading of such silly *Fanatical* Books, as were fit for his narrow Capacity and Enthusiastical Temper; so that the acquir'd, or artificial Part of *Fanaticism*

cism (which *Whigs* call *Grace*) being added to his Nature, he might qualifie himself for Employment and Reputation, especially among the *Remonstrator-Presbyterians*, who were then the principal Part of the *Kirk*. This Faction, especially in the West, was advanc'd so far towards Enthusiasm, that they despised and suspected Men of Learning and Sense, and began to look upon it as a stinting of the Spirit, to spend any Study or Time in preparing themselves to Preach. The People especially were so possessed with this Opinion, that if they came to know, that their Ministers Pre-conceiv'd, much more Penn'd their Sermons in their Studies, they thought it a sufficient ground of with-drawing from them; as believing it utterly impossible, to receive any Spiritual Benefit from such carnal Sermons, as were Compos'd by the help of Study and Books.

Among these People it was, that *Mitchel* design'd to Teach and Preach; and therefore after he was graduated Master (which is here at the End of four Years) he apply'd himself to the Study of Popular Divinity under Mr. *David Dickson*, a great Apostle of the Solemn League and Covenant; under whom he continued his Method of Reading Modern *Fanatical* Pamphlets, that he might be an able Workman, and compleatly finish'd with all those *Canting* Affecting Phrases, which discriminate a Spiritual from a Carnal Preacher among our *Presbyterians*: And are Musick and Charms to their Enthusiastical Ears. And that he might add the Practical to the Speculative part of *Fanaticism*, and be perfectly Master of his Trade, he frequented those private Meetings, where Conferences, Prayers and Sermons were spoken in that Dialect; and where Tone, Grimace, and Gesticulations, are far more Powerful than all the true Learning and Eloquence in the World.

Having acted sometime in these Nurseries of Enthusiasm, he thought himself fit for any Ecclesiastical Employment; and therefore offer'd himself to be Try'd by the *Presbytery* of *Dalkeith*, who rejected him for Insufficiency, as some yet alive can Testifie to the World.

After this Repulse, he began to Project some other way of Living; and was shortly after Recommended to the *Laird* of *Dundas*, to be Pedagogue to his Children, and Domestick Chaplain for saying *extemporary* Prayers. He passed some time in this Family for a Gifted and very Holy Young Man; 'till some of the Servants observed an extraordinary Familiarity betwixt him and a Young Woman, who was the Old Gardiner's Wife. Being possess'd with this Suspicion, they observ'd him the more; and one Night as they were watch-

watching, they saw his *Mistress* go to his Chamber, which was a Summer-house built on the Garden-wall. The Key, as it happen'd, was left on the out-side of the Door, which one of those that watched observing, gently lock'd the Door upon them, and immediately ran to call his Master, who came to the Garden to see what would be the Event. After they had been as long as they pleas'd together, at last *Hortensia* comes to go out; who to her great Confusion finding the Door lock'd, steps back to the *Adulterer*; who, fearing that she should be taken with him, immediately let her down the Garden-wall, by the help of his Shirt, she hanging at one end, and he holding the other as naked as when he was Born. His Patron all this while beheld him like a filthy *Diapus* upon the Garden-wall, and the next Day in great Indignation discharged him of his Service and House. I suppose this is one of his particular and private Sins, which you'll find him hereafter confessing in his Speech, deserved a worse Death than he endured.

Afterwards he came to *Edinburgh*, where he liv'd some Years in a Widow's House, call'd Mrs. *Grissald Whitford*, who dwelt in the *Cow-gate*; and with whom that Dishonour of Mankind, Major *Weir* was Boarded at the same time. By his Conversation, it may be presumed, that *Mitchel* improved much in the Art of Hypocrisie, and Drank in more deeply those Murderous and Treasonable Principles, which he afterwards practis'd in the whole Course of his Life, and justified at his Death. Now began he to converse with the most Bigot Zealots against Authority, to frequent and hold Conventicles to Preach up the Covenant, and to the utmost of his Power to promote the Schism, which was begun in the Church. By these Practices, he much endear'd himself to his Tutor Major *Weir*, who recommended him for a Chaplain to a *Fanatical* Family, the Lady whereof was Niece to Sir *Archibald Johnston* Laird of *Wareston*, one of the most furious Rebels against the late Blessed KING, and greatest Compliers with the late Usurpation in the Three Kingdoms; and whom you may remember to have been *President of the Committee of Safety*: For all which accumulated Treasons he was Executed here in 1663.

During his Abode in this Family, broke out the Rebellion of the *Fanatics* in 1666. He no sooner heard of it, but joyned with the Rebels, who were defeated at *Pentland-hills*: Though Mr. *Welsh* (as it is reported) during the Fight, prayed with up-lifted Hands to the Lord of Hosts against *Amalek* (as his Spirit moved him to Mis-call the Royal Forces) and had his Hands stay'd up by some of his

his Brethren, as *Moses* had his by *Aaron* and *Hur*. Mr. *Mitchel* had the Fortune to Escape from the Field, but was afterwards Proclaimed Traytor, with many other Principal Actors in the Rebellion; and afterwards excepted by Name in his Majesty's Gracious Proclamation of Pardon, that he might receive no Benefit thereby. From this time he skulk'd about, and shelter'd himself among the Rebellious Saints of the Brotherhood, till the Devil tempted him to *Assassin* the Lord *Primate*, for which he hath Expiated by his Blood.

Among others of his Excellent Qualifications, I have told you what an utter *Ignoramus* he was: And I cannot forbear to tell you farther, that *Welsh* and *Arnot*, and all the rest of them are full as Illiterate as he; and that their insuperable Ignorance in Divine and Humane Learning, is the Mother of their Murdering Zeal. Indeed all the late Troubles upon the Account of *Episcopacy*, are chiefly to be ascribed to the shameful Ignorance of *Protestant* Divines in Ecclesiastical Antiquity; who looking no farther back into the History of Religion, than the time of the *Reformation*, and some of them not so far, did either hate *Episcopacy* as an Usurpation, or else looked upon it as a meer Human Constitution; and so could not have that particular Veneration for it, that was due to an Apostolical Ordinance, so visibly founded in the Scriptures, and which was the sole invariable Government of *G O D's* Universal Church for above 1500 Years.

Of this, that excellent Man, Mr. *Henderson* was a deplorable Example; who tho' he was a Man of great Temper and Prudence, and very Learned in his way; yet want of Antiquity, of which he was ignorant, was the unhappy Cause, why he engaged for the *Covenant* against the King and the Church. Had he spent but half so many Hours in that, he had never moved so excentrically to the Church, nor done those things, for which he expiated with Tears before his late Blessed Majesty at *Newcastle*; afterwards spending the short Remainder of his Life, in a sorrowful Penitential Retirement; for which he grew suspected by his Brethren of the *Covenant*, who called him Apostate from the Cause. There are many Persons yet alive, who can Testifie this to be true; which may Teach all Divines, how dangerous it is for them to Live in Ignorance of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, which is so easily acquir'd, and so useful to be known. That comprehensive Genius, Mr. *Calvin*, wanted nothing but this to make him as Orthodox, and Consummate a Divine, as ever was in the Church of *G O D*: For had he been but half

half as well versed in the more Primitive Ecclesiastical Writers, as he was in St. *Augustine*, he had never Coin'd the Notion of a Lay-Elder, defended the *Horrible Decree*, or been exposed for so many Absurdities by meek * *Cassander's* Pen.

But to Conclude this Digression with Mr. *Henderson*, there were very few, among our Covenanted-Ministers, Comparable to him for Prudence and Learning; and yet even the lower most Form of our former *Presbyterians* were great Men in comparison to these of the *Remonstrator Faction*, who are all burning Zeal, but no Knowledge; as you will perceive, not only by the Sequel of this Story, but this Letter of an ignorant Minister, that lately Revolted from our Church.

S I R,

I Received your Letter of the 15th of July, wherein you say, That on the first Wednesday of August, you are to have a Presbytery, (you ought to have term'd it a Meeting of the Exercise) and on the second Wednesday of August, a Provincial Meeting with your Bishop of Rothesay. And once for all I desire you may take this for an absolute Answer. First, That GOD hath for a long time been dealing with my Conscience, but especially since October last, when I was called to Mul for Electing Mr. Andrew Wood, Bishop (I confess his want of the Irish Language did stick with me, besides many other things as well now as before, about the Election of Mr. James Ramsey; and all of you, save one, did then profess, that they did stick with you also, though now you have swallowed down that Pill with many more) and that in such an extraordinary dreadful, and terrible Manner, for my engaging to Prelacy, and a Lordly Government over the Church of Christ (contrary to which there lie so many Ties, and Obligations on this Land) that, with the Grace of God, I would not adventure to abide the Terror of the Lord for all the Stipends and Preferments in Europe. And truly the worst I wish to you, or any Prelate in Britain or Ireland, or their Adherents, is, That they may have as sound a yoking with their Consciences, as I have had; if they be not incorrigible Enemies of Christ. Next, Upon serious search of the Word of GOD, and of Antiquity, I am the more confirmed in my Resolution. Blondellus, Salmatius, Gerson, Bucer, yea the whole current of Primitive Fathers, especially Smeectymnuus, have vindicated Presbytery against the whole

* In defens. lib. de Offic. Pii viri.

World. I want not many more solid Reasons to add, only I suppose I could never be satisfied in them, and therefore I forbear.

To Conclude, I do here before G O D, and the whole World profess my disowning of Lordly Prelacy, as it is now Establish'd in our Land, which I was once most fully engaged into; and my firm and resolute Adherence to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of Scotland, as it was professed in this Nation, from the Year of our Lord 205. and downward for the space of 230 Years, and then since the Year 1580, till the Year 1610. and then from the Year 1638, till the Year 1661. and from thence downwards by many Godly in these three Lands, till this very Day is; and more particularly to the Point, that Government of Christ's Church by an Equality and Parity of Pastors and Minister, all of them with one Shoulder carrying on the Work of the Lord, and exercising the Keys of Order and Jurisdiction, Doctrine and Discipline in Communi, according to due Order, and feeding the Flock of G O D; not as being Lords of G O D's Heritage, but Ensamples to the Flock: Yea, I do here (with all the Lord's faithful Servants and Witnesses in these three Lands, both in the present, and some former Generations, and with all the Lords Witnessing, and Suffering Servants and People, that have been, or now are in this Land, or present Generation) confess and bear my Witness and Testimony, the Cause of God, and the Work of Reformation, so much as was attained thereof, how afflicted and born down soever, and to the Confessions of Faith of the Church of Scotland, and of the three Kingdoms; and to rational, and trinitational Covenant; and that I do rather choose to suffer Affliction with the poor suffering People of G O D, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproaches for Christ greater Riches than all the Pleasures and Preferments in the World. I desire you, with your Brethren, to consider those Scriptures, and take them home to you: Isa. 66. 5. Zach. 11. 5. John 16. 2, 3. John 9. 1, 10. Remember your worthy Bedfellow, that is this Day, I hope, in Glory, shall bear Witness against you. Farewel for ever, Lordly Prelacy, for I had never a joyful Hour since I engaged therein; and welcome, welcome my dear Lord Jesus Christ, I Embrace thee with the Arms of my Soul, and thy Cross; I profess this, confess thee bearing my Testimony to thee, and thy persecuted Truth; and by thy Blood, and the Word of thy Testimony; and not loving my Life unto the Death, I hope to overcome.

Cambre-Mle,
August 6, 1677.

Sic Subscribit, Alex. Symer, Minister
of the Gospel at Cambre,

Unless

Unless you are vers'd in our Historian *Buchanan*, you will wonder, why this Learned Antiquarian should assert, That the Government of our Church was *Presbyterian* from the first Plantation of the Gospel in 205, or rather 203, till the Arrival of *Palladius* in the middle of the Fifth Century. You must know therefore, That all the Authority our *Presbyterians* have for this Assertion, is from *Buchanan*, that furious Enemy of Bishops; who in the Fifth Book of his History, writes, that the Church in the aforesaid time was not Govern'd by Bishops, but by the Monks or *Culdees*; which, were it true, as it is false, would prove, that the Government of the Church in that Interval, was not *Presbyterian*, but perfectly *Laical*, seeing it was long after that time, that Monks were admitted among the Clergy; and permitted to meddle with Church Affairs. But you may find a larger Confutation of this groundless Assertion of *Buchanan*, in Archbishop *Spotswood's* History.

But to continue my Narrative of Mr. *Mitchel*, I proceed to acquaint you with other memorable Things, that happened between his Condemnation and Execution, which was on *Friday* the 18th of *January*, in the *Grass-Market*, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Some time before the Execution, the Reverend Mr. *Annand*, Dean of *Edinburgh*, not discourag'd with the unthankful Returns one of his Brethren had receiv'd from the Malefactor before, out of his tender Compassion to his Soul, wrote him a very affectionate and pious Letter, wherein he endeavour'd to shew him from the Gospel, how contrary his Principles and Practices were to the Doctrine of Christianity; and Exhorted him to Repentance for that Un-christian Attempt, by which he design'd to take away the Life of one Sacred Person, and grievously wounded another, &c. To all which, he returned this Answer.

S I R,

I Received yours, and since my time is very short, and so very precious, I can only thank you for your Civility and Affection, whether real or pretended; and I tell you, I truly close with all the Precepts of the Gospel to Love and Peace; and therefore pray I both for Mr. Sharp, and you. But knowing both Mr. Sharp's Wickedness, and my own Sincerity; and the Lord's Holy Sovereignty, to use his Creatures as he pleases; I can only refer the Manifestation of my Fact, to the Day of G O D's Righteous and Universal Judgment; praying heartily, that G O D may have

have Mercy on you, and open your Eyes to see both the Wickedness of all your Ways, and of your godless insulting over an unjustly condemned dying Man, and grant unto you Repentance and Remission of your Sins. I am in this your Well-wisher,

James Mitchel.

The Dean in his Letter, urged an excellent Argument to Convince him, That the Impulse, which was upon him so many Years to *Assassin* the *Primate*, could not come from *GOD*, like the Impulse of *Phineas*, and the *Zealots*; because he fail'd in the Attempt; which never any Person did, or could do, that was moved by *GOD* to do an *Heroick Act*. But, you see, the blind *Pseudo-Zealot* takes no notice of this Argument in his Answer; wherein to shew what an implacable Enemy he was to the Office, as well as the Person of the Archbishop, he mentions his *Grace* not by his Character, but by his Name.

Having been told in the Prison, That he would not be permitted to speak to the People before his Execution, he transcribed several Copies of his intended Speech; whereof one was found in his Pocket, and taken from him before he was carried out to Execution. It is long, and the former Part containing nothing but Libellous Reflections on the Privy-Council, the Judges, and the King's Advocate: I shall content my self to send you a Transcript of the latter.

I Acknowledge my particular and private Sins have been such, as have Merited a worse Death unto me; but I Die in the Hope of the Merits of Jesus Christ, to be freed from those eternal Punishments due to me for Sin. Yet I am confident, that *GOD* doth not plead with me in this Place, for my private and particular Sins; but that I am brought here, that the Work of *GOD* might be made Manifest; and for the Tryal of Faith, John 9. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 7. And that I may be a Witness for his despised Truth, and Interest in this Land, who am called to Seal the same with my Blood. And I wish heartily, that this my poor Life may put an End to the Persecution of the true Members of Christ in this Kingdom; so much actuate by these perfidious Prelates; and in Opposition to whom, and in Testimony of the Cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my Life; and bless my *GOD* that he hath thought me so much worthy to do the same for his Glory and Interest. Finally, concerning a Christian Duty in a singular extraordinary Case, and

my particular Judgment concerning both Church and State; it is evidently Declar'd, and Manifested more fully else-where. So farewell all Earthly Enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son and Holy Spirit, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit.

As to that particular Christian Duty in an extraordinary Case, and his Judgment concerning Church and State, manifested; he means a larger blasphemous Libel, which he left behind him, wherein he endeavours to justify his Fact. It is very long, but yet I beseech you to read it over; and if you have not read *Naphthali*, nor *Jus Populi vindicatum*, which is a Reply to the Answer, which the Bishop of *Orkney*, whom this Miscreant wounded, made to *Naphthali*; I am confident, you must be surpriz'd with Horror and Astonishment, to see such Unchristian Doctrines come from a Christian Pen. Yet the Primitive Churches never receiv'd the Apostolick Epistles with greater Veneration, than the Members of our Field-Congregations receive such Discourses as this; nor can any Church-man respect any Ancient Ecclesiastical Writer half so much as they adore *Naphthali*, which is written in the Defence of the Rebellion in 1666. and wherein this horrid Man's attempt upon the Primate is commended for an *Heroical Act*; and that cursed Book, with *Lex, Rex, Jus Populi vindicatum* and Mr. Rutherford's Letters, are the Fathers and Counsels of our *Fife*, and *Western Whigs*.

I have here subjoyn'd the Account of my Self, Principles and foresaid Practices, as they were set down in a Letter to a Friend; and another Declaration both written by me, when first Convened before the Lords Justices, in the Year 1674.

The Copy of my Letter, *Edinburgh-Tolbooth*,
February the 16th, 1674.

S I R,

ME (who may justly call my Self the least of all Saints, and the chiefest of all Sinners) hath Christ his Son our Lord called, to be a Witness for his destroyed Truth and trampled on Interest, by this Wicked, Blasphemous and God-contemning Generation, and against all their other perfidious Wickednesses.

Sir,

Sir, I say, the confidence I have in your real Friendship, and Love to Christ, his Truth, People, Interest and Cause, hath encouraged me to write to you, hoping that you will not mis-construct, nor take advantage of my Infirmities and Weakness. You have heard of my Indictment, which I take up in these two Particulars: First, (as they term it) Rebellion and Treason, anent which I answer'd to my Lord Chancellor, That it was no Rebellion, but a Duty which every one was bound to have performed, in joining with that Party: And in the Year 1656. Mr. Robert Lightonne, being the Primate of the College of Edinburgh before our Laureation, tendered to us the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant; which upon mature Deliberation, I found nothing in them, but a short Compend of the Moral Law only, obliging us to our Duty towards G O D, and Men in their several Stations; and I finding, that our then Banished King's Interest lay wholly included therein, Viz. Both the Oath of Coronation, Allegiance, &c. And they being the then Testera of all Loyalty. And, my Lord, it was well known, that then many were taking the Tender, and for-swearing Charles Stuart's Parliament and House of Lords, I then subscribed them both. The doing of which, my Lord Chancellor, would have stood me at no less rate, if all's well known, than this my present adhering and prosecuting the Ends thereof, doth now: And when I was Question'd, What then I called Rebellion; I Answer'd, That it is (Ezra 7. 26.) And whosoever will not do the Law of thy God, and of the King, &c. But being Question'd by the Commissioner, before the Council there anent; I Answered, as I said to my Lord Chancellor before, in the Year 1656. Mr. Robert Lightonne being then Primate of the College of Edinburgh, before our Laureation, he tendered to us the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant; where he stopp'd me, saying, I made you are come here to give a Testimony: And then being demanded, what I called Rebellion, if it was not Rebellion to oppose his Majesty's Forces in the Face? To which I Answer'd, My Lord Commissioner, if it please your Grace, I humbly conceive, that they should have been with us; meaning that it was the Duty of those Forces to have joyned with us, according to the National Covenant; at which Answer I perceiv'd him to storm. But, says he, I hear that you have been over Seas, with whom did you converse there? Answer, With my Merchant, my Lord. But saith he, with whom in particular? With one John Mitchel, a Cousin of mine. Saith he, I have heard tell of him, he is a Factor in Rotterdam; to which I conceded. But saith he, did you not converse with Mr. Levingston, and such as he? To which I Answered, my Lord Commissioner, I

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conversed with our banish'd Ministers: To which he Reply'd, banish'd Ministers! banish'd Traytors! He will speak Treason at the very Bar. Then he answered himself, saying, But they would call the Shooting at the Bishop, an Heroick Act: To which I Answered, That I never told them of any such thing. Question, But where did you see James Wallace last? Answ. Towards the Borders of Germany, some Years ago. Quest. But what ailed you at my Lord St. Andrews here? pointing at him with his Finger. Answ. My Lord Commissioner, the grievous Oppression and horrid Bloodshed of my Brethren, and the eager Pursuit after my own Blood, as it appeareth this Day to your Grace, and to all his Majesty's Honourable Council: After which he commanded to take me away, that they might see next what to do with me.

The Second is, The Shooting that Shot, intended against the Bishop of St. Andrews, whereby the Bishop of Orkney was hurt; to which I Answer'd my Lord Chancellor in private, Viz. That I looked upon him to be the main Instigator of all the Oppression and Bloodshed of my Brethren, that followed thereupon; and the continual pursuing after my own: And my Lord Chancellor, as it was credibly reported to us (the Truth of which your Lordship knows better than we) that he kept up his Majesty's Letter, inhibiting any more Blood to be shed upon that Account, until the last Ten were Executed; and I being a Soldier, not having laid down Arms, but being still upon my own Defence, nor having any other Quarrel nor Aim at any Man, but according to my own Apprehension of him, and that, as I hope, in Sincerity, without fixing either my self or any one upon the Covenant it self, and as it may be understood, by many thousands of the Faithful; besides the prosecuting of the Ends of the same Covenant, which was, and is in that Part the Overthrow of Prelates and Prelacy: And I being a declar'd Enemy to him upon that Account, and he to me in like manner; so I never found my self oblig'd, either by the Law of GOD, or Nature, to set a Sentry at his Door for his Safety; But as he was always ready to take his Advantage of me, as it now appeareth, so I of him when Opportunity offer'd: Moreover, we being in no term of Capitulation, but on the contrary, I by his Instigation being excluded from all Grace and Favour, thought it my Duty to pursue him upon all Occasions. Also, my Lord, Sir William Sharp making his Apology anent his unbandsome cheating way, when he took me under pretext to have spoken with me, about some other Matter (I not knowing him until Five or Six of his Brothers, and his own Servants were laying fast hold on me, they being armed of purpose) he desired that I would excuse him, seeing what he had done was upon his Bro-

Brothers Account; which Excuse, my Lord, I easily admitted of, seeing that he thought himself obliged to do what he did without Law or Order, in the behalf of his Brother; much more was I obliged to do what I did, in behalf of many Brethren, whose Oppression was so great, and whose Blood he had caused shed in such abundance: Moreover, he insisting in his bloody Murders, as witness the wounding Mr. Bruce at his taking of his Emissaries, some few Days before that fell out concerning himself; now, If by any means in taking him away, I could have put a stop to the then current Persecution: Thus far I have truly resumed what past.

But this Answer to the second Part of the Indictment, may be thought by some to be a step out of the ordinary way; wherefore I shall offer these things following to your Consideration, viz. That passage, Deut. 13. 9. Where to me it is manifest, That the Seducer or Inticer to Worship false Gods, is to be put to Death by the Hands of those whom he seeketh to turn away from the Lord, especially by the Hand of the Witnesses, whereof I am one; as it appears Deut. 13. 9. which Precept I humbly conceive to be Moral, and not meerly Judicial, and that it is not at all Ceremonial or Levitical: But as every Moral Precept is Universal as to the Extent of Place, so also as to the Extent of Time and Persons; upon which Command, Sir, I do really think that Phineas acted in taking away the Midianitish Whore, and him whom she had seduced, Numb. 25. 6. Also that Elijah by vertue of that Precept, gave Commandment to the People to destroy Baal's Priests, contrary to the Mind of the seducing Magistrate, who was not only remiss and negligent in executing Justice, but became a Protector and Defender of the Seducers: Then and in that Case, I suppose the Christian's Duty not to be very dark. Moreover, we see what the People of Israel did, 2 Chron. 31. 1. They destroyed Idolatry, not only in Judah, where the King concurred, but in Ephraim and Manasseh, where the King himself was an Idolater; and surely what all the People were bound to do, as their Duty by the Law of GOD, every one was bound to do it to the uttermost of their Power and Capacity. And as it is, Ezek. 13. 3. Where the Seducer's Father and Mother shall put him to Death; I take this to be meant of the Christian Magistrate. But when he is withdrawn by the seducer from the Exercise of his Office and Duty, and he's become utterly Remiss and Negligent in putting the Seducer to Death, according to GOD's express Law; which is not to be expected of him (for then he should do Justice upon himself) but is become a Protector and Defender of the Idolater; then I doubt not, but it doth become the Duty of every Christian, to the uttermost of his Power and Capacity, to destroy and cut off both,

both, Idolatry and Idolaters. Yea, these presumptuously-murdering Prelates ought to be kill'd by the Avenger of Blood, when he meeteth them, by the expresse Law of G O D; seeing the thing is manifestly true, Numb. 25. 21. and not have liberty to flee to such Cities of Refuge, as the vain Pretext of Lawful Authority: But they should be taken even from the Horns of such Altars, and be put to Death. Moreover, what is spoken of concerning Amalek, upon the account, that he design'd and resolv'd the Extirpation of the Lord's People and Truth, who are his Throne, upon which he puts forth his Hand; and because he took occasion against them, Exod. 17. 15. Numb. 24. 20. He endeavouring that G O D should not have a People to have served him, according to his revealed Will, upon the Earth; and if he could have effected his Design, they should not have lived, who would not serve and worship him, and his Idol Gods: And for the better effectuating this his Design, he took occasion against them when they were weary, in coming out of Egypt, Deut. 25. 17, 18. And the reason there annexed, is, That he feared not G O D. Now, because I know Bishops both will, and do say, That what they did against those of the Lord's People, whom they Murdered, they did by Law and Authority, but what I did, was contrary to both: Answ. The King himself, and all the Estates of the Land, and every individual Person therein, both were, and are obliged, by the Oath of G O D upon them, to have by force of Arms, extirpated perjured Prelates and Prelacy; and in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their Lives and Fortunes; the Covenants being engaged into, upon these Terms, Viz. After Supplications, Remonstrations, Protestations, and all other lawful Means have been used; now for that effect, as the last Remedy, we take up Arms; upon which Conditions, the Nobility, and all the Representatives of the Nation, according to the National, and Solemn League and Covenant, gave to our King both the Sword and Scepter, and set the Crown upon his Head; and he accordingly received them, according to these Sacred Oaths and Promises, and swore by the Ever-living G O D, to use and improve them for the End aforesaid; and especially, in order to the performing of this Article, Viz. The Extirpation and Over-throw of Prelates and Prelacy: And now the want of what Authority do they mean or speak of? Truly I know not, except it be the Authority of their Aggregation of new Gods, of whom they have their Gain, Life and Standing, Viz. Chemosh or Bacchus, which with drunken Moab, delighted to dwell within dark Cells. and Ashteroth and Venus, whom they worship in the Female-kind, because of their Adulteries and Whoredoms; as also Milchom or Molech, which signifies
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a Tyrannical King, or a Devil, if they will have it so; in whose Arms and Power they put their young Infants and Posterity to be Burnt and Destroyed, according to his Lust and Pleasure, Amos 5. 26. Psalm 116. 37. and that Mammon, which they delight to worship daily, together with their own Bellies, whose glory is their shame; who mind Earthly things; whose End will be Destruction, except they repent, which there is little probability of, Psalm 3. 19. To which if we may add their abominable Pride, and Blasphemous Perjury, then their Gods will be equal in number to the Whore their Mother, from whom they have their being, strength and standing; and from the Devil their Father, who was a Deceiver, Lyar, Murderer from the beginning: And now seeing the Prelates possess whatsoever their Gods, Chemosh, &c. giveth them to possess, then why should not we possess what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, viz. His eternal Truths manifested to us, in his revealed Will, and keep and defend the same, from all Innovations, Corruptions and Traditions of his or our Adversaries, defend our Lives, Laws and Liberties out of the Hands of our Usurping Enemies, Jude 11. 24. for sure I am, that God once dispossess the Prelates and Malignants of all these, and should they again possess through our defect, God forbid. But the like of this work, our Murthering Prelates like not; who plead like the Whore their Mother for passive Obedience; and that all the Lords People, who may not comply with your Idolatries, should lay down their Necks to their bloody Axes; with whom too too many of our Hypocritical time-serving and perfidious Professors do agree, who would rather abide with Reuben, amongst the Sheep-folds, than Jeopard either life or fortune in the help of the Lord against the Mighty, but do not consider the bitter Curse pronounced by the Angel of the Lord against Meroz; to which he immediately subjoins a Blessing upon Jael, the Wife of Hebar the Kenite: Others excuse themselves thus, viz. Vengeance is mine, and I will re-pay; but so the Throne and Judgment is the Lord's; and by this they would take away the Use and Office of Magistracy, which erroneous Principle I detest; for G O D even in the working of Miracles, viz. in dividing the Red Sea, Exod. 14. 16. he commanded Moses to stretch forth his Rod; and Christ, when he opened the blind Man's Eyes, maketh use of Clay and of Spittle; tho' indeed, I mean not of any who were willing to have helped, but wanted opportunity; yet there are many peevish time-serving Professors, who resolve they shall never suffer so long as they have either Soul or Conscience to Mortgage; providing that they may save them from Suffering; and if it will not do their Business, it seemeth (that before they suffer) they resolve to sell out at the ground. Now, Sir, I have neither

mis-interpreted Scripture, nor mis-apply'd it, in regard of the Persons here hinted at, nor been wrong in the End, which ought to be the Glory of GOD, and the good of his Church and People. Then I think that some Persons might forbear to scourge me so sore with their Tongues, while I am not yet Condemned by the common Enemy; and my bearing of some things, reported by some behind my Back, hath occasion'd my writing to you at this time. O Sir, be intreated to pray to the Lord in my behalf, that he would be pleased out of his Mercy and Goodness, to save me from Sinning under Suffering, in this Hour and Power of Darkness; for my Soul is prest in me, in the search betwixt Sin and Duty, viz. lest I should be too niggard and sparing of Life, when GOD calleth for it; and upon the other Hand, lest I should be too prodigal and lavish of it, in not using all legal Defences in preserving of it; and many things of the like Nature. I am in a strait, O Lord, undertake thou for me. Sir, I hope you will excuse me, in sending you these indistinct and irregular Lines, when you consider my present condition. Sir, believe, I would many times, when I am before them, think a Scaffold a sweet Retirement, lest they should cheat and deceive me; in making me, either to stain the declarative Glory of GOD, my own Conscience, or his People and Interest, in wronging of them, either by opening of the Adversaries Mouths against them, or in letting loose their Hand upon them: Henceforth let the Adversary either say or do what they can, yet the Righteous will hold on their way, and he who hath clean Hands will be stronger and stronger, Job 17. 9. But he that saith unto the Wicked, Thou art Righteous, him shall the People Curse, Nations shall abhor him, Prov. 24. 24. Farewell in the Lord.

*P. S. It is acknowledged by all Rational Royalists, That it is Lawful for any private Person to kill an Usurper, or Tyrant, sine titulo; and to kill Irish Robbers and Tories, or the like; and to kill Boars, Wolves, and such Devouring Beasts; because the good of this Action doth not redound to the Person himself only, but to the whole Commonwealth; and the Person Acting incurs the Danger himself alone. The Second Part of The Cloud of Witnesses, P. 60. Mr. Knox, has these express Words, For GOD, saith he, had not only given me Knowledge and a Tongue, to make known the impiety of the Idol, but had givin me Credit with many, who would have put in Execution GOD's Judgments, if I would only have consented thereto. But so careful was I of common Tranquility, and so loth was I to offend some, that in secret Conference with Zealous Men, I Travell'd
rather*

rather to slacken that Fervency, G O D had kindled in them, than to animate or encourage them, to put their Hands to the Lord's Work ; wherein I acknowledge my self to have done most wickedly ; and from the bottom of my Heart I do ask my G O D pardon, that I did not what in me lay, to have suppress that Idol in the Beginning. But, O ! How far are the Men in our Time from such Convictions, whose Work it is to put out any Spark of Life or Zeal, which appeareth in any Person, against Idolatry, and Idol of our times. Now let Men, whether Foes or Friends, Carp or Quarrel never so much, yet the Purpose and Determination of G O D will not be disappointed, in living Witnesses against this mis-believing Generation, *Viz.* That he is both All-powerful and Willing to Deliver one or more of his People trusting in Him : Yea, and that *there is no restraint unto the Lord, to save by many or by few*, 1 Sam. 14. 6. If any be Obedient to the Voice of his Commandments, altho' Success doth not always follow thereupon, more than it did to *Israel*, Josh. 7. 12. against the City of *Ai*, because there was an *Achan* in the Camp ; and, alas, there are many *Achans* in the Camp of our *Israel*, which cause the Lord's People to fall Daily before their Enemies ; and which makes all their Endeavours unsuccessful : I mean, the hidden time-serving Hypocrites and Mumurers, who have preferred their Backs and Bellies to the Interest of G O D, and their Hearts still desirous to return to *Ægypt*. I say, until such Rebels be Purged, and Dye, we can have little expectation to Prosper in any Enterprize or Undertaking ; for they have both Betray'd and Mis-believed G O D, notwithstanding of all his Miracles which he did of Old, and which he has done in our Days, for his People, and before their Eyes ; yet they are so far gone back in a Course of Apostacy and Compliance with the *Canaanites* of our Times, and are become so brutishly Ignorant of the express Law of G O D, and are such Enemies thereto, that they do rather concur with the said *Canaanites*, Judg. 6. 25. to have *Gideon* put to Death for performing his Duty, conform to the express Command of G O D, than either to Study thereof themselves, or give Obedience thereto. But if it be Objected, that *Gideon* had an express Command from G O D, for throwing down of *Baal's* Altar, and for cutting down of the Grove, and destroying of the *Midianites*. *Answer*, Indeed he had an express Command of G O D for his Encouragement ; but he had no new Command from G O D, save that which was expressly enjoined upon all the *Israelites* ; by virtue of which, every one was obliged to have done what he did, with

without any such Message from G O D, *Deut.* 7. 2, 3, 15. and who are readier with *Judas* (before they incur danger or loss) to send three thousand Men to bring *Sampson* bound to the *Philistines*, than to have sent him ten of his Assistance against the common Enemy; concerning the Truth of which, we have gotten many sad Experiments. But however, I hope, that what hath been said, shall occasion a further Cognition of, and a more serious Search into these fore-mentioned Truths, than hath been for a long Time by-past.

That, albeit I have singly Declared my own Motives and Reasons for that Attempt and Shooting; wherein I then had, and now have Peace, and Hope to find Acceptance of G O D, according to the Multitude of his Mercies, to such as Seek and Fear him in Sincerity: Yet, I will not take on me Absolutely, and in every Respect, to Justifie or Assert, That it is my own deliberate and fixed Principle; let be that it is justified by, and is the Principle of the *Non-conforming Presbyterian Party* of the Church of *Scotland*; of which I have the Honour and Happiness to be one, the unworthiest of many: Nay, if I should say so of them, I would be found a Lyar against the Truth; for I adventur'd on it upon my own pure and proper Motion, without the Instigation of any, yea, without the Privacy of that Party; whom therefore I earnestly desire, that none may Charge with; and if any shall, I do with the greatest Confidence aver, That they deal with them most unjustly. I have, I say again, in the Simplicity of my Heart, with Candour and Ingenuity, becoming a Dying Man, and a Christian, believing that he must be made Manifest before the Tribunal of Christ, and there receive according to the Things done in the Body, whether they be Good or Evil; giving an Account of the Reasons and Motives, poussing and pressing me on to it, wherein I had quietness of Mind in the Time, and have still to this present hour; hoping, that as he is Sovereign Lord over all Creatures, and may use any of them as Instruments to whatsoever his Pleasure is; and that, as I say, I did take, and do still look upon the Motion as from himself; so he will accept of my Sincerity in it; and one Day, both bring forth his own and my Righteousness as the Light.

His

His S P E E C H at the Place of *Execution.*

‘ I Suppose, some will be desirous to know what hath
 ‘ brought me to this Place of Suffering; to which I have
 ‘ no other Answer than that which *Elijah* gave, when
 ‘ threatned with Death by *Jezebel*, 1 *King* 19. 14. I have
 ‘ been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts, because
 ‘ the Children of *Israel* have forsaken thy Covenant,
 ‘ thrown down thine Altars and true Worship, and slain his
 ‘ Prophets and Ministers: And they seek my Life to take
 ‘ it away.

‘ With all my Heart and Soul, I own and adhere to the
 ‘ Work of Reformation, as it was begun and carried on in
 ‘ this Kingdom, according to the Word of GOD, and the
 ‘ National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant;
 ‘ as it was settled amongst us in Doctrine, Worship, Disci-
 ‘ pline and Government, by general Assemblies, Synods,
 ‘ Presbyteries, Kirk-Sessions, and the Peoples just Power
 ‘ to choose and call their own iawful Pastors; and I do de-
 ‘ clare, that I judge Patronage to be a Popish Right, and an
 ‘ Usurpation in the House of G O D.

‘ I do believe and am perswaded, that Magistracy is an
 ‘ Ordinance appointed of G O D, as well under the New
 ‘ Testament as it was under the Old; and that whosoever
 ‘ resisteth the Lawful Magistrate in the exercise of his Lawful
 ‘ Power, resisteth the Ordinance and Appointment of
 ‘ GOD, *Rom.* 13. 3. *For he is God's Minister to you for thy good,*
 ‘ and in doing good thou needs not be afraid of him, 1 *Pet.*
 ‘ 2. 12. We must obey the lawful Magistrate for Conscience
 ‘ sake, *Deut.* 17. 15, 16, 17. The lawful Magistrate must
 ‘ be a Man qualified according to G O D's Appointment,
 ‘ and not according to the Peoples Lust and Pleasure, lest in
 ‘ the End he should prove to them a Prince of *Sodom*, and a
 ‘ Governour of *Gomorrhah*, whom GOD in his Righteousness
 ‘ should Appoint for their Judgment, and Establish for their
 ‘ Correction: He must be one of thy Brethren, and not
 ‘ the Face of a Stranger; he must not make himself strong
 ‘ by Multiplying of Horses, to the End he may compel the
 ‘ Lord's People to Rebel against the Lord's express Com-
 ‘ mand; nor *Jeroboam*-like, compel the People to any course
 ‘ of Apostacy; he must not multiply Wives to himself, and
 ‘ much less Whores, nor Marry an Idolatrous Wife like
 ‘ *Jezebel*, 1 *Kings* 16. 31. Nor be Covetous in Multiplying

' to himself Silver or Gold ; he must be a diligent Student
 ' of the Law of the Lord all the Days of his Life, that he
 ' turn neither to the Right Hand, nor to the Left Hand
 ' therefrom, but must judge the People accordingly ; other-
 ' wise neither he nor his Children can expect to prolong
 ' their Days, 2 Sam. 23. 3. He must not be a Son of *Belial*
 ' without or above Order and Law, whom a Man cannot
 ' touch except he be fenced with Iron, for such shall all be
 ' prest away ; for (saith *David*) *he that ruleth over Men*
 ' *must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord, &c.* But if a
 ' Man simulating himself to be thus qualified, and thereafter,
 ' when he had strengthened himself upon the Throne, shall
 ' abjure and sacrifice his Oath and Covenant, both to GOD
 ' and his Subjects, and shall transgress the Law and Com-
 ' mandment of the Lord, who hath given the Magistrate
 ' only one accumulative Power, to promote, protect and
 ' defend GOD's Laws, Truth and People, from being cor-
 ' rupted, violated or any ways damnified ; and for that
 ' End he hath received both his Place and his Power from
 ' GOD and Men, for he hath not received of the Lord an
 ' obstructive, destructive or privative Power ; for (as has
 ' been said) the People can give no Right nor Power to
 ' any Man, but what is according to GOD's Appointment,
 ' lest they should incur the sad Challenge from GOD, *Hosea*
 ' 8. 4. *They have set up Kings, but not by me ; they have*
 ' *made Princes, but I knew it not.* For in Chap. 10. v. 3. *Israel*
 ' there is brought in confessing their fault, and they deny'd
 ' they had a King, because he was not such as GOD had
 ' Appointed, and said, What should a King do to them ?
 ' Seeing he had partly by Force, and partly by Fraud,
 ' withdrawn them from the Fear and Obedience which
 ' they ought to GOD, and to his Law ; and had seduced
 ' and compell'd them to Idolatry, and worshipping of false
 ' Gods : And if the Magistrate being in Power, shall over-
 ' turn the Covenant-work of GOD, his Truth and Inter-
 ' ests, the Fundamental and Municipal Laws of the Land ;
 ' and moreover by a settled Parliament, according to his own
 ' Mind, and for his own Use and Ends, they, as the Peoples
 ' Representatives, do by Acts *Rescissory* rescind all Acts of
 ' laudable lawful Parliaments, Committee of States or
 ' Councils ; wherein were contained or comprehended any
 ' mutual Bond, Obligation, Covenant or Contract betwixt
 ' the Prince or People, he having divested himself of any
 ' legal Right he could have or pretend over such a People,
 ' and they being *in Statu quo prius*, and none having Right
 ' to Rule over them without their own Consent ; if the
 ' afore-

a fore-said Magistrate shall then again Usurp and Invade
 his Peoples Lives, Religions, Liberties and Laws, and
 make even simple supplicating of him, Crimes of Treason,
 contrary to the Dictates of Nature; and he by armed
 Emissaries, and by his Arbitrary Power, carried on by
 the Sword in their Hands, compel the Lord's People to
 relinquish and to forsake the true Religion and Worship
 of GOD, and make a surrender of both their Soul, Con-
 science, Lives, Laws, Liberties, and imbrace a false Re-
 ligion and Will-worship, and engage to Serve and Wor-
 ship false and idol Gods at his Pleasure: For thus all that
 is dear and near to a People being in the extremity of
 hazard; now it necessarily follow'd to be the Duty of such
 People, or any part of them, to take up Arms in Defence
 of their Lives, Laws, Religion and Liberties, and of
 their Posterity, that they may not be left in such an into-
 lerable Bondage; and as they would not be accounted
 guilty of bringing GOD's Wrath upon the whole Land,
Jer. 22. 2, 3. Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah,
&c. Thou and thy Servants, and the People that enter in by
these Gates, execute Judgment and Righteousness, and deliver
the oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, Chap. 37. 2. But
neither he, nor the Servants, nor the People of the Land
hearkned to the Prophet Jeremiah, until Wrath from the Lord
consumed them all. Now, had it not been the Peoples
 Duty, to have Executed Judgment and Righteousness, and
 to have deliver'd the Oppressed out of the Hands of the
 Oppressor; *Zedekiah* and his Servants (which I think was
 meant by the Nobility and Princes) proving deficient, in
 order to the performing of their Duty, it necessarily fol-
 loweth to be the Peoples Duty; for if it had not been their
 Duty, it had not been their Sin to have omitted it; but
 here we see it is as well charged home to be the Peoples
 Sin, as to be the Sin of the King, or the Sin of his Nobles:
 But, say some, Who shall be Judge in such Cases? To which
 I Answer, That the Law of GOD is the only Supreme
 and Infalible Judge in all such Cases; for what other Judge
 is, when two Kings or Monarchs falleth out in War, neither
 of them being Subject to any other Judge. But some Pro-
 phane and Brutishly Ignorant Malignant, saith, That this
 or that ignorant Fellow or Hussy, take upon them to
 determine what the Law of GOD saith in such Cases: I
 Answer, neither this nor that ignorant Fellow or Hussy,
 nor yet this or that ignorant, prophane, wicked or per-
 fidious Prince or Princess, is capable to be Judge, *Deut.*
30. 11. For this Commandment which I command thee this
E
Day,

Day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, verse 12.
 It is not in Heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for
 us to Heaven and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do
 it, &c. neither is it beyond the Sea, &c. but the word is very
 near unto thee, in thy Mouth and in thy Heart that thou may'st
 do it: And in this Case I do appeal to any Man of a sober
 Wit and Judgment, seeing the Secrets of the Lord are with
 them that fear him, Psalm 25. 14. And seeing evil Men un-
 derstand not Judgment, but they that seek the Lord understand
 all things, Prov. 28. 5. For they know not how to do Right,
 who store up Robbery in their Palaces, Amos 3. 10. who is
 most capable to judge, what the Law of GOD deter-
 mineth in all such matters. Artaxerxes, a great Monarch,
 Commanded, That whatsoever is Commanded of the God
 of Heaven, that it should be diligently done, for the House of
 the God of Heaven; for why should there be Wrath upon the
 King and his Sons? Ezra 7. 23. But O how many Men at
 this time of the Sons of Belial, contrary to what is here
 spoken of, skrew up those who are above them to so high
 a Pinacle, and an Illimited and Arbitrary Power, far
 above what either the Law of GOD, or the Law of Na-
 ture will admit of, for this very End and Purpose, that
 they may glory in the Works of their own Hands; and
 that he whom they have thus set up, and to whom they
 have made a surrender of both Credit, Conscience and
 common Honesty, may return unto them a Power over
 others who are under them, by putting Swords in the
 Hands of bloody Cut-throats; who are raised and kepted
 up for that effect, to keep and bring into an Egyptian
 Bondage, the Persons, Lives, Laws, Liberties, yea even
 the Souls and Consciences of the Lord's People; the
 which Power, I declare to be Diabolical, Prophan and
 Blasphemous; and Pharaoh-like to say, Who is the Lord that
 they should obey him? Exod. 5. 2. Now seeing both the
 Throne and the Judgment is the Lord's, then O blessed
 and happy Magistrate, who Ruleth and Governeth his
 Subjects, keeping in a streight Line of Subordination to
 GOD's Law and Statutes, for in so doing, Who may say
 to him, what dost thou? Prov. And O happy and blessed
 People thus Governed, Deut. 4. 8. And what Nation is
 there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so Righteous,
 as all this Law which I set before you this day? But O the
 Blasphemous Perjuries and Wickedness of this Apostate
 Generation, whom no Bands, Obligations nor Covenants
 can bind, except these spoken in the 149 Psal. 8. But shall
 they thus break the Covenant, and escape and be deliver'd?
 Ezeke.

' *Ezek.* 17. 15, 18. As if the Lord's Hand and Power
 ' could not reach them, to inflict just and due Punishment
 ' upon them which commit such things. I do detest and
 ' abhor that woful Indulgence and Incroachment, and Usur-
 ' pation on the Crown and Prerogatives Royal of our Lord
 ' Jesus Christ (at least in the Givers thereof) howbeit, I
 ' have very much Love, Charity, and Affection to many
 ' who have embraced the same: For I do really think, that
 ' they have been outwitted in that Matter, and have not
 ' wickedly departed from following the Lord; yet I hope
 ' they shall get their Souls for a Prey in the Day of the Lord,
 ' altho' they may suffer loss, in building such Hay and
 ' Stubble upon the Rock Christ Jesus, when that their Work
 ' shall be burnt up by the Fire of his Jealousie.

' I protest before G O D, Angels and Men, against all
 ' these Acts of Parliament or Council, which are against
 ' and derogative to the Work of G O D and Reformation,
 ' and carrying on of the same, according as we are ingaged
 ' and sworn in these holy Bands of the National Covenant,
 ' and Solemn League and Covenant; I abhor the shedding
 ' of the Blood of the Lord's People, for their adhering to
 ' the same, and the Peoples guarding such in Prison-houses
 ' and at Scaffolds unto their Death; whom both by the
 ' Oath of G O D upon them, and by the Eminent and
 ' Laudable Laws of the Land, and by the Law of Nature,
 ' they were obliged to have defended to the uttermost of
 ' their Lives and Fortunes; it being most well known,
 ' that such as were put to Death, had committed no Crime,
 ' but on the contrary had performed a Duty, which they
 ' were as much obliged to have performed as these, if the
 ' Guarders had been as faithful to G O D and Man as the
 ' Pannels were,

' Likewise I protest against their Banishment, Imprison-
 ' ment, or Finings or Confinements, and against all the
 ' Hardships and Perplexities of whatsoever kind which they
 ' have been put to, through the Iniquity of the Times; so
 ' that we may justly with our Predecessors say, That our
 ' Persecutors have devoured us, and have crushed us; have
 ' emptied us, swallow'd us up like a Dragon, and have filled
 ' their Bellies with our Delicates, and have cast us out, *Jer.*
 ' 5. 34. For which Cause, G O D gave a Charge to pre-
 ' pare Instruments for the Over-throw and Destruction of
 ' such Persecutors, *ver.* 12. Because it was the Vengeance
 ' of the Lord and of his Temple; so shall our Remnant,
 ' who outlive these Persecutors, say, *ver.* 35. The Violence
 ' done to me and my Flesh, be upon *Babylon*, and my Blood

' be upon the Inhabitants of *Chaldea*; let Wrath from the
 ' Lord pursue them, for their Blood and Violence in their
 ' Persons and Estates, and their Strength wherein they
 ' confide, and in their Friends and Favorites; who have
 ' consulted and contrived within their wicked Courses. I
 ' hope the time is drawing Nigh, and that the Joints of
 ' their Loins is loosing, their Knees are beginning to smite
 ' one against another, *Dan. 5. 6.* and the Hand-writing
 ' begins to be pourtrayed upon the Wall, because they have
 ' not consider'd what **G O D** did to their Predecessors, for
 ' their Idolatrous Pride and Wickedness; altho' they knew
 ' it, yet they are become more insolent in Idolatry and
 ' Wickedness, and daring against **G O D**, than ever their
 ' Forefathers presumed to be, in meddling with the Vessels
 ' and Materials of **G O D**'s House, and with the Crown and
 ' Kingly Office of Christ Jesus; and have appropriate them
 ' to their own Idolatrous Ends and Uses, *ver. 21, 22.* There-
 ' fore, when the forbid'd Sword of the Lord's Indignation
 ' and Justice breaketh forth to devour, which it may do
 ' before the dark Night of these dreadful Dispensations pass
 ' over; then shall the time-serving Hypocrites of this Ge-
 ' neration begin to their untimely Prayers, *viz. Hills and*
 ' Mountains fall upon them, to hide them from the Face of
 ' the Righteous Judge; For who may abide the Day of his
 ' coming, for Executing of Vengeance on his Adversaries?
 ' In that Day the Man shall be accused who keepeth back his
 ' Sword from Blood, and who doth the Work of the Lord
 ' deceitfully, *Jer. 48. 10.* Yea, happy shall he be, that taketh
 ' this cursed Malignant, and Prelatical Brood, and dasheth
 ' them against the Stones; yea, happy shall he be, that reward-
 ' eth them as they have served us, *Psalms 137.* For this
 ' honour have all his Saints, the high Praises of **G O D** in
 ' their Mouth, and a two Edged Sword in their Hand, to
 ' execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, *Psalms 149.*

' Having thus deliver'd my self in the Points that I have
 ' mentioned, I only add to what I have said, That I do
 ' only own these things as my own Judgment, in these great
 ' and important Matters; not willing that any thing wherein
 ' others may differ from me, should be looked upon as the
 ' Principles and Perswasion of that Party whereto I adhere;
 ' And I obtest, that no Man be so Diabolick and Prophane,
 ' as to Charge this upon any of my Perswasion, it being but
 ' my own; in which I hope **G O D** hath approven me.
 ' And whom **G O D** Justifieth, who dare Condemn?

' Now, if the Lord, in his Wise and Over-ruling Provi-
 ' dence, bring me to the End of my Pilgrimage, and to my
 ' long

long looked for and desir'd Happiness; let him take his
 own way and time in bringing me to it: And in the mean
 while, O my Soul, sing thou this Song, Spring up, O Well
 of this Happiness and Salvation, of all this Eternal Hope
 and Consolation; and whilst thou art burthened with this
 Clog of a Clay Tabernacle, Dig thou Deep in it by Faith,
 Patience, Hope and Charity, and withal the Instruments
 which GOD hath given thee; Dig in it both by Pre-
 cepts and Promises; Dig carefully, and Dig continually,
 ay and till thou come to the Source and Head of the
 Fountain himself, from whence the Waters of Life flow
 forth; Dig until thou come to the Assembly of the First
 Born, when this Song is most suitably sung to the Praise
 and Glory of the rich Mercy and free Grace of this Foun-
 tain of Life: O my Soul, follow (in all this digging)
 the Direction of the great Law-giver; so shalt thou prosper
 in all thy taking of Pains. O happy Nobles and Princes
 of *Israel*, who were admitted to the Sight and to the Song,
 to the Pains and to the Profit, which none of the mixed
 Multitude of Murmurers were admitted to because of their
 unbelief, *Numb. 21. 17.* And O, Father of Mercy, while
 I am tossed upon the turbulent Seas of manifold troubles,
 grant that thy Presence may be with me, and that thy
 Everlasting Arms may be underneath me to support me;
 for sure I am, *Moses* thy Servant had good reason to be
 importunate in this Suit, *Exod. 32. 2.* compared with 14
 and 15 *ver. Chap. 34. 9.* Seeing no less could furnish him
 with fresh Supplies in the work he was about. O let thy
 Presence be with me, and then my Soul shall dig and sing,
 and sing and dig through times of trouble into Eternal
 Rest, where I shall be admitted to behold the Rock
 Christ, out of whom floweth the pure Fountain and River
 of Life and Happiness, which I may drink and not be
 damnified through the Assaults of Satan, or the Invasions
 of Sin, or of a wicked World any more; now according to
 thy Promise, *Matt. 10. 19.* Out of thy Fatherly Mercy
 grant present Help, Supply and Direction in this time of
 Trouble, seeing it is not in Man that walketh, to direct
 his own Steps, *Jer. 10. 23.* and tho' it be a hard thing
 rightly to distinguish betwixt Sin and Duty, yet thy Law,
 thy Word and thy Truth, which are quick and powerful,
 dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit, and is a Director of the
 Thoughts, and thy Law giveth Light, *Psal. 119. 105.*
Psal. 32. 8. For thy Testimonies, O Lord, are sure, making
 wise the simple, *Psal. 19. 7.* For thou alone canst make all thy
 Dispensations prove profitable, in order to the purging away
 of

of Sin, even when they seem to be Destructive, *Esa. 27. 9.*
 Especially, when thou intends them not for Destruction,
 but for Tryal, *Deut. 8. 2, 16.* and for further Humiliation;
 for thou, O Lord, hast led me for many Years through a
 barren and wearisom Wilderness, to the End that thou
 mayst work thy work of Mortification in me; altho', if it
 had seemed good unto thee, thou couldst have brought
 me into the Land of Promise and Rest a nearer way, *Exod.*
13. 17. For thou by Hardships, many a time hides Pride
 from Men, and sealest up their Instruction, that thou mayst
 deliver his Soul from the Pit, and that his Life may see
 the Light, *Job 33. 17.* And although thou, O Lord,
 shouldst send me the back Tract and Tenor of my Life, to
 seek my Soul's Comforts and Encouragements from thence;
 yet I have no Cause to complain of hard dealing from thy
 Hand, seeing it is thy ordinary way with some of thy
 People, *Psal. 42. 6.* O GOD, my Soul is cast down
 within me, therefore will I remember thee from the Land
 of Jordan and from the Hill Hermon, &c. Yea, the last
 time he brought me to the Banqueting-house, and made
 Love his Banner over me (amongst the Cold High-land
 Hills beside Kipper, November 1673.) he remembred his
 former Kindnesses towards me; but withal he spoke it in
 mine Ear, That there was a tempestuous Storm to meet me
 in the Face, which I behooved to go thro' with the strength
 of that Provision, *1 Kings 19. 7.* And now, O my Soul,
 seeing it is his ordinary way and method with thee, to
 send a Shower and a Sunblink, and again a Sunblink and
 Shower; therefore, keep thou silent to GOD, and mur-
 mur not, fret not, be not disquieted, be still, and be con-
 tent, seeing all my Persecutors can do, either by Fraud or
 Force, can neither alter the Nature or Kind of my Suffer-
 ings, or add so much as a Degree thereto, neither lengthen
 out the time of them for a Moment, *Matth. 10. 29. Exod.*
12. 41. All Pharaoh's Power could not keep Israel one
 Night longer in Egypt; therefore it is my Duty to study
 with Paul, *Phil. 4. 11, 12.* Whatsoever state I am in,
 therewith to be content; and say, Should the Earth be forsaken,
 and the Rock be removed out of its Place for me? *Job 18. 4.*
 Should GOD alter the course of his Providence for me,
 in which there is such an Efficacy as to carry all things to
 the proper and appointed End: What an irresistable Power?
 And that I may be found in him, Not as having my own
 Righteousness which is of the Law, but that which is through
 the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith,
Phil. 3. 9, 10. and to resign up unto GOD my Will
 and

and Affections, to be disposed as he pleaseth, and to say
 with Fear, Humility and Reverence, *O Father, not my Will,*
but thine be done; and whether I live or dye, I may be
 the Lord's, that thro' his Mercy and Grace, I may attain
 to his Approbation, *viz. Well done, good and faithful Servant,*
 who hath hitherto sent his Angel, and shut the Lyons Mouth
 that they have not hurt me, *Dan. 6. 22.* And who hath so
 shut the Eyes of my Persecutors with a Sodomitish Blind-
 ness, that hitherto they could not find out the way how to
 break in upon me; and I hope he will in due time bring
 me out of the fiery Furnace, and shall not through his
 Grace suffer the smell thereof to be found upon me; and if
 not, yet I never held it to be my Duty, to worship this
 rotten and stinking Idol of Jealousie, which these Nations
 have set up, who have killed both the Lord Jesus and their
 own Prophets, and have Persecuted us, *Thes. 1. 15.* For
 thou, *O Lord,* hast not abhorred nor despised my Afflictions
 when I was Afflicted, neither hast thou hid thy Face from me,
 but when I cryed unto thee thou heardest me, *Psal. 22. 24.*
 Now, *O Lord God,* thou hast made the Heaven and the Earth
 by thy great Power and stretched out Arm, *Jer. 37. 2.* Bring
 thou me at length to a happy Arrival within the Gates of
 the New Jerusalem, where no unclean thing can come;
 that my Praise may be of Thee in the great Congregation.
 And altho' as *Job* saith, *Chap. 10. 17.* That thou, *O*
Lord, hast deliver'd me to the ungodly, and hast turned
 me over into the Hands of the wicked, yet by this I know,
 that thou, *O Lord* favourest me, because mine Enemies do not
 Triumph over me: When I stand in Judgment, thou *O*
Lord, didst not condemn; and if it pleaseth thee, thou
 will not leave me in their Hands, *Psal. 41. 11. Psal. 37. 33.*
 But canst bring up my Life from the Pit of Corruption,
Jonah 2. 6. And seeing I have not preferred, nor sought
 after mine own things, but thy Honour and Glory, the
 Good, Liberty and Safety of thy Church and People,
 altho' I may be now mis-constructed by many; yet at
 length I hope, thou, *Lord,* wilt make my Light break forth
 as the Morning, and my Righteousness as the Noon-day;
 and that Shame and Darknes shall cover all who are Ad-
 versaries to my Righteous Cause; for thou, *Lord,* art the
 Shield of my Help and the Sword of my Excellency, and
 my Enemies shall be found Lyars, Amen, yea and Amen.

JAMES MITCHEL.

IN some parts of this Villainous Paper, you find the Author Discoursing like a *Jesuit*, in some like an *Enthusiast*, and in many Places like *both*. And from the Beginning to the End of it, he Argues from the supposed Validity of the judicial Law, which G O D gave the *Israelites*, not as their G O D, but as their Political Sovereign; and which they on the other Hand received from his Infinite Majesty, not on a Moral Account, as his Rational Creatures, or the Sons of *Adam* or *Noah*; but upon the Account of the Civil Relation they had to him as Subjects, or his People in a Political Sense. For the *Jewish* Government, as all their Writers agree, was a *Theocratical* Constitution, or the Temporal Kingdom of G O D; who was pleased to become *Jehovah-Stator*, and dwell among them in a visible external Manner: In so much that the Judges and the Kings were but his High Commissioners and Vice-Roys, who were Chosen and Deposed by him at his Pleasure; and like *Moses* and *Joshua*, his first two Generals, could neither make War nor Peace, nor undertake any State-matter of great Moment, without first asking Council of the Lord.

Sometimes he Answered them by Messengers or Prophets, sometimes by Dreams and Visions, but most commonly in the time betwixt *Moses* and the Captivity, by *Urim* and *Thummim*, which was a Political Oracle, appointed on purpose for the Judges, Kings or Generals, or the whole Congregation to consult in Matters of State and War. But our Saviour, who came to break down the Wall of Partition betwixt the *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, threw his Fathers Inclosure into the Common again, and put an End to his Political Government over the *Jews*. Who, had they embraced Christianity, and continued in their Country, as one entire People to this Day, would not have been obliged by their Specifick Judgments and Statutes, wherein their Civil, Criminal and Military Laws consist. No, the whole Design of the Gospel is so inconsistent with the *Jewish* Oeconomy, that it is impossible for Christians to observe some, ridiculous to observe others, and impious again to observe others of their judicial Laws. Of the last sort are all those which G O D gave the *Jews*; as *Carnifices Gentium*, or Executioners of his Wrath upon the seven Idolatrous incorrigible Nations, as likewise all those Capitals Acts against *Idolatry*, as High Treason to his Government, and inconsistent with the Design he had to be King, as well as G O D of the *Jews*, whom he set up as a Light among the *Gentiles*, and secured them by those great Severities from falling into
Demon-

Demonolatry, which was the Catholick Religion of the World.

This was the general Opinion of all Christians, till the *Romanists* began to argue by false Analogy from Things and Persons in the *Jewish*, to Things and Persons under the Christian Dispensation; and from them it was, that the Presbyterians first of all Learn'd to defend Murders, Assassinations, Rebellions and Massacres, as you see this Villain hath done.

Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, mov'd the Princes of *Germany* to cut off *Luther* and the *Lutherans*, because (forsooth) GOD cast *Corah* and his Company down into Hell; and Commanded, That all those should be put to Death that would not Obey the High Priest. And as *Davila* relates in the Ninth Book of his History, the Pope compared the Duke of *Gusse*, that Patron of the Cursed League, to *Judas Maccabeus*, and the *Jesuits* complimented him with the name of *Gideon*, and bid him go on and prosper in the name of GOD. According to which damnable Notion of false Zealotry, when they Consecrate an *Assassin* (as *Hospinian* hath proved they sometimes do) to Murder an Heretick Prince, they Solemnly Consecrate him to the Work of the Lord in such a like Form as this, *Thou Elect Son of God, take here the Sword of Gideon, the Sword of Ieptha, the Sword of Sampson, the Sword of David, the Sword of the Maccabees, go, and be of good Courage, and the Lord strengthen thy Arm.* Can any thing be more like Mr. *Mitchel's* Justification, than this? Would not one think his Soul had entred into that Secret of the *Jesuits*, seeing he hath not Acted only like one of their *Assassins*, but written his Apology with their poyson'd Ink. If Father *Brown* the *Jesuit*, that Preach'd among them so many Years, had Penn'd it, Could it have favour'd stronger of the *Society of Jesus*, or become such an Author better than it doth? He boasted on his Death-bed at *Ingestonbriggs*, that he had Preach'd as down-right Popery in our Field-Conventicle, as ever he had Preach'd in *Rome* it self; and had he been the Author of this Paper, he might also have boasted, to the Comfort of his departing Soul, that he had written as true a Papistical Pamphlet, as ever was written in the *Romish* Church. I think there is great Presumption to Assert, That the Father might help to Indoctrinate *Mitchel* in this Mystery of Iniquity; but if he did not, yet both he and the Author of *Naphthali* might invent these Doctrines without consulting *Jesuits*, seeing it is the *Cabala* of their own Sect.

For this way of Arguing, to do Mischief from the judicial Law, was the Logick of our most Primitive *Presbyterians*, which hath ever since caused so much Ruin and Blood.

For in the Convention at *Edinburgh*, *January 1560*, for Ratification of a new Form of Church-Policy, it was Enacted, That all Monuments and Places of Idolatry, by name, Chapels, Cathedral-Churches and Colleges, should be suppress'd; whereupon through the Instigation of *John Knox* ensued (saith my *a* Author) a pitiful Vastation of Churches, and Church Buildings; so that the Libraries nor Church-Registers, nor Sepulchres of the Dead were spar'd. And some ill-advised Preachers (saith he) did Animate the People in their Barbarous proceedings, crying out, That Places, where *Idols* had been Worship'd, ought by the Law of *G O D* to be destroy'd; and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things Execrable; as if, (he subjoyns) the Commandment given to *Israel* for Destroying the Places where the *Canaanites* did Worship their false Gods, had been a Warrant for them to do the same. I confess, the *b* Council of *Carthage*, in the time of *Honorius*, Decreed, That the Emperors should be Petition'd to raze the Temples, and destroy the Reliques of Heathen Idols; but it was because in Maritime, and other Places of *Africk*, Idolatry was yet professed in them; and not from any Sense of Duty incumbent upon them from the *Mosaic* Law. For that, as well as the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches, had converted the Temples of *Idols* into the Churches of Christ; but as for the supernumerary, useless Company of them, which remain'd as Snares, and Monuments of the Dominion which the Devil had had in the World, they thought it both for the Honour and Interest of Christianity, that they should be taken away.

In the following Year, 1561, altho' Queen *Mary* had agreed with the Council, That she should have her own Service in her own Chapel, yet the next Day, when the *c* Tapers were carried through the Court, a Zealot of Mr. *Mitchel's* Principles fell upon him that bore them, and broke them all in Pieces; and had not the Tumult been timely suppress'd by some moderate Spirits, abominable Barbarities had ensued: For some maintain'd, That if Right were done, her Majesty's Priests should have been slain, according to *G O D's* Law against Idolaters. It would be endless to

a Spotsw. &c. in Anno 1560. L. 3. *b* Can. 62. *c* Spotsw. &c. L. 4. Anno 1561.

trace these Principles down from the time of the Original Presbyterians to these unhappy Days; you may see enough of them in the Parliament Sermons, and innumerable other Pamphlets of the late Times. How often did the late Presbyterian Preachers commend the House of Commons for their Zeal, and ransack the Old Testament for Examples and Precepts to perswade the giddy Vulgar, that the Rebels Fought the Lord's Battels, and that their Cause was his? How often did they Compare the most Active of them to *Gideon*, *Samson* and *Phineas*, and Complement the Worthies of the late Long Parliament in *England*, as *Gregory* the 15th Complimented the last King of *France*, when he raised an Army for the Extirpation of the Protestants, in the glorious Name of the Lord of Hosts. Did not that Darling of the Faction, *Mr. Calamy*, in the bloody Speech which he made in 43, at the *Guildhall* of *London*, to the Citizens, (to perswade them to contribute largely towards the bringing in of our *Scottish* Army) justify himself from the Objection of his own tender Conscience, that he being a Minister of the Gospel, should stir them up to make War; by taking an Apology from *Numb. 10.* and *Deut. 20.* Where *G O D* ordain'd, that the Sons of *Aaron*, the Priests, should sound the Alarm with the Silver Trumpets; and that the Priest should make a Speech to encourage the People going out to Battel, to Fight for the Lord of Hosts. So that *Naphthali*, *Nebushtan*, and *Mitchel's* Papers, are but the last Improvement of the Presbyterian Logick and Zeal; which makes our Conventicle-Preachers ride about with Guards, like petty Princes, and their Followers, more like Soldiers than Christians, come Armed by Thousands into the Field.

They are now arriv'd at the highest Pitch of Enthusiasm and Bigotry, and are as ready upon all Occasions, to do as much for the Spiritual Crown of Christ, which they think inconsistent with the Mitre; as the Men of the *Fifth Monarchy* Principles, are ready to do for the Temporal Kingdom of Jesus. So that if *G O D* in his good Providence had not sent down the Duke of *Lauderdale* among us, to prevent the Storm that was ready to arise; in all human Probability, this Kingdom had been involv'd in such a violent Rebellion, as could not have been quell'd without extrinsecal Force. His Grace came hither without any prospect of Trouble; and the incredible numbers of Nobility and Gentry, that throng'd to meet him several Days Journey on *English* ground, were enough to make him presume, that all would be quiet and serene. But he had not been many Days among us, when he

was surpriz'd with the News of great Insolencies and Disorders, caus'd by the Field-Conventicles in the *West*.

Now, to make you understand what Wind blew up that secret Flame, and how those evil Principles probably came to be put into Fermentation, I must lead you back to the Year 1674, when some, whose Discontents far exceeded their Causes, under the old Pretence of Redressing Grievances, did design something else, and thereby almost render'd the Parliament useless for the Publick Ends, for which it was call'd.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* was then His Majesty's High Commissioner; and there was not one real Grievance, of which he himself did not propose the Removal; nor any one pretended, concerning which he was not willing to Treat: And if it were found to be really such, to have it redress'd in an orderly, fair, and legal Manner, according to the Fundamental Constitutions of the House. But this would not satisfy their Discontents (which enough Demonstrates, that something else was design'd besides the Removal of Grievances) whereupon his Grace returning to Court to give an Account of Affairs to his Royal Master; such great Confusions appeared among us, as naturally follow palliated Discontents. Then did *Welsh*, and other declared Traytors, take the Confidence to Preach openly in *Fife* and *Tiveot-dale*, which before had been orderly Places; and there they were entertain'd, and encourag'd to debauch the People from their Duty to the King, and the Church: And if these bold Attempts and disorderly Practices had not then been timely quell'd by his Grace's Care and Conduct, it is easie to Divine to what imminent Hazard, our Peace and Government had been expos'd.

Whether our Fanaticks were then under-hand encourag'd to commit these Insolencies by designing Male-contentments, Time, the Revealer of Secrets, may shew; but it is beyond all Peradventure, that scandalous and unseasonable Divisions, caus'd by nothing but Envy and Discontent, did then Animate and Embolden them to these turbulent Practices; and therefore it seems not improbable, that the same Discontented Party, envying the Duke his glorious Reception, and the just Esteem he hath with his Prince; and intending to frustrate his best Councils and Endeavours for preserving this, and by Consequence the Kingdom of *England* in Peace, have now conjured up the Phanatical Spirit again, to Act in more insolent Irregularities, than at any time heretofore. But let the Cause be what it will, the Conventicles were never so numerous and frequent, as they now began, and some

sometime after continued to be in *Fife, Clidsdale, Tiveotdale, Galloway, Sterling-shire* and *Carriſt*; the laſt of which Shires had always been Peaceable and orderly till now, when they all conſpir'd to invade the publick Peace. At theſe Field-Conventicles, would meet ſometimes five or ſix Thouſand, ſometime eight or nine Thouſand at a time, as many of which as were fit to bear Arms, and could provide them, never fail'd to come appointed into the Field. For this Reason, our Laws and Proclamations ſtile theſe Field-Meetings, *Rendevouzes* of Rebellion, which is as modeſt a Name as they can deſerve. For moſt of the Principal Preachers among them, as *Welſh* and *Arnott*, are either attainted or declared Traytors, and were Actors in the Rebellion of 66. and the *Harangues* (for I will not call them Sermons) which they make to the People, tend to nothing, but to make them Rebel, and poſſeſs them with Hatred againſt the King and the Church. In *October* laſt, at *Sanchil* in *Carriſt*, Mr. *Welſh* attended with ſeven or eight ſeditious Preachers, made a Preachment to the principal Division of a Multitude upwards of 7000 People, upon *St. John* 11. 34, 35. In this Preachment among much other Treasonable Stuff, he ſpoke theſe Words, *The King, the Nobles and the Prelates, are ſure the Murderers of Chriſt*; and then ſitting down in his Chair, he ſaid, *Oh People, I will be ſilent. Speak O People, and tell me what good the King hath done ſince his home-coming; yea, hath he not done all the Miſchief a Tyrant could do?* At another Conventicle not long after, he ſpoke thus, or to this purpoſe, *That he was confident that GOD would yet aſſert the Cauſe of Pentland-hills, in ſpite of the Curates* (for ſo they call the Orthodox-Ministers) *and their Maſters the Prelates; and in ſpite of the Prelates and their Maſter the King; and in ſpite of the King, and his Maſter the Devil.*

But to proceed, at theſe Field-Meetings, they Adminiſtered the Solemn League and Covenant to the People; and made them Swear never to hear the Orthodox Miniſters more; and in a moſt Popiſh manner, gave them the Sacrament thereupon. They alſo kept Claſſical Meetings, where they Ordain'd Ignorant and Factious Striplings, and by an unparallell'd Act of Schiſm, took the Confidence to Re-ordain one Mr. *John Cuninghame*, who was formerly Ordain'd Prebyter by the late Lord Biſhop of *Galloway*; and likewiſe preſum'd to receive the Hypocritical Confessions and Repentence of ſuch as they had perſwaded, or ſuborn'd to confeſs the great Sin of joining in Worſhip with our Church. They admitted Ruling Elders in ſeveral Precincts, and with incom-

Incomparable Impudence proceeded to Institute and Induct Preachers of their Tribe, both into vacant and full Churches, according to Mr. *Mitchel's* Judgment; who asserts in his Apology, That every Parish ought to choose its Preacher, and that Patronage is but a Popish Right. They also confiding in their Numbers, proceeded in manifest Contempt of Authority to Erect Preaching-Houses; particularly in *Carriſt* and *Galloway*, where Persons of no mean Quality and Interest, harbour'd and careſs'd those great Apostles of the Cause, *Welsh* and *Arnott*; who ride about these disaffected Shires in great State and Security, with Guards consisting of Forty, Fifty, or greater numbers of Horse. From these Insolencies they proceeded to invade the Houses, and menace the Persons of some Orthodox Ministers, whom Mr. *Welsh* declared, either in a Conventicle, or *Presbytery*, somewhere in *Carriſt*, that it was as Lawful to Kill, as for the *Israelites* to Kill the *Canaanites*, if they complained to the Men (for so he called the Magistrates) in Power. These Out-rages so frightened the Orthodox-Clergy, that many Ministers forsook their Charges; and some of our Bishops, who liv'd in those distracted Corners, were forced for their Security to repair to this Town. Thus all Things seem'd to run into Confusion; and if excellent Methods had not been used to prevent the Sequel of such dangerous Beginnings, the Faction by this Time had grown into a formed Party, and disputed the Cause with an Army in the Field.

The first Thing the Privy Council did, was to issue out Proclamations for the Execution of the Laws against these Conventicles, and to use all Means possible for seizing the Persons of *Welsh* and *Arnott*, and other seditious Preachers: But the former were render'd ineffectual, the Heritable Sheriff and Bayliffs, and other Officers of the seditious Districts refusing to Act; and the latter could not be brought to Effect, because the Preachers are always so strongly guarded in Publick; and in Private, shelter themselves with such superstitious Adorers of their holy Persons, as none of the proposed Rewards can tempt to Betray. Disorders thus continuing, the Council acquainted His Majesty with the Dangers they Threatned; and humbly mov'd him to send speedy Orders, That a considerable Number of his *Irish* Troops should march to the Maritime Borders next adjacent to *Galloway*, and the Western Shires, to be ready for Transportation if Occasion requir'd. His Majesty, who was long since acquainted with the Spirit and Principles of our *Remonstrator-Presbyterians*, in Compliance with the wholesome Advice of his Privy Council, immediately order'd, That a well

well-appointed Party, of about 3000 Horse and Foot, should be sent under the Conduct of the Loyal and Valiant Viscount of *Granard*, our Country-man, to Quarter upon the Maritime Borders, and to March at the Command of the Privy Council here. This particular Care of his Majesty, and the Approach of the Forces, did very much surprize the Fanatical Party, who were made to believe by the Malecontents, that the Duke had no Interest at Court, nor was capable to procure any extrinsical Assistance, although they should Rebel. The *Irish* Forces being Arriv'd upon the Coasts, the Council were resolv'd to try what fair and gentle Means would do; and thereupon directed Letters to the Heritors (whom you call Landlords) of *Aire* and *Renfrew*, to know if they would undertake by their own Power to Reduce these Disorders, having the King's Authority for that Effect. The Heritors met in a full Assembly, and after two Days Consultation, return'd Answer by three Noble Lords, whom the Council had sent to attend them, That they could not undertake by their own Power to keep the Country free from Conventicles, or any Disorders that might ensue thereupon.

You must know that our Landlords have far more Authority over their Tenants, than yours; insomuch, that in the most disaffected Places, there are no Conventicles where the Heritors and Superiors use their private Authority to keep the People constant to the Church. All the World here knows, that there is not a more Fanatical Shire in this Kingdom than *Murray*; and yet by the single Authority and Interest of that most Loyal and Deserving Person the Earl of *Murray*, it is kept in as perfect Order and Obedience, as if there were no Conventicles in the World. But, as for the aforesaid Shires, the Council expected no such Answer from them, because they of all others have had most Indulgence, as having Non-conforming Ministers legally settled in very many Churches among them; which one would think, if that Party had any Reason, Modesty or Conscience, might have kept them from troubling the publick Peace. Therefore the Council having receiv'd such an unreasonable Answer from the Heritors of these more indulged Shires, concluded what Returns they might expect from others; and therefore began now to think it was high time to reduce them to their Duty by Force. Whereupon, knowing that the Body of this Kingdom was Loyal, they resolv'd rather to reduce the Fanaticks by our own intrinsical Power, than to call in his Majesties *Irish* Forces, unless there should be absolute Need. Wherefore, to the King's

King's standing Forces, they added the *Militia* of the most Loyal County of *Angus*, and admitted the *Auxiliary* Forces which several Loyal Lords that have Interest and Authority in the *Highlands*, did proffer to raise out of their Vassals and Dependents for his Majesties special Service in this critical Exigence of Affairs. And by his Majesties special Approbation and Command, they were all United into one Army, under the Conduct of the most Valiant and Loyal Earl of *Lin Lithgow*, who towards the latter End of last *January* march'd into the Western Shires.

And that all things might be transacted in a fair, legal and orderly Manner, there is also sent along with the Army a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Eleven Right Honourable Persons, who are invested with sufficient Power, Civil and Criminal, to punish all sorts of Offenders, and are now steadily pursuing those great Ends for which they were sent thither. There's a strict Correspondence betwixt them and the Privy Council, to whom they send frequent Accounts of their Proceedings; and from whom they receive such Measures and Directions, as may most conduce to reduce and secure those disorderly Shires. To which purpose, in the first Place, they proceed to disarm them, causing all suspected Persons to deliver their Arms (whereof great Provision was made) to their respective Sheriffs upon Oath, who are to deliver them to the Major General, and to be sent by him to his Majesties Garrisons. They have likewise Order to plant Garrisons in what Places soever they shall think fit, and have proceeded to do Execution on the new Built Meeting-houses, those Temples of *Baal Berith*, by Commanding that they should be pull'd down, and that their Materials should be Burnt. They are likewise to tender a *Bond* to be taken by all Heritors; wherein, as Masters of Families, they are to be Bound for themselves, their Wives, Children and Servants; and, as Landlords, for their Tenants and Cottagers, That they shall not go to Conventicles, nor Receive or Supply Conventicle-Ministers, but live orderly in Obedience to the Law; so that if their Wives, or any of their Children or Servants Transgress, they will be bound to undergo the legal Penalties for them. But in case their Tenants or Cottagers Transgress, they will be Bound to Present them to Justice, or turn them off their Tenements, or else to be liable to the Penalties they shall incur.

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The Form of this Bond, or Civil Anticovenant, was drawn up by the Privy Council, and is as followeth :

I A. B. under subscribing, do faithfully bind and oblige me, That I, my Wife, Bairns, and Servants respectively, shall be no ways present at any Conventicles, and disorderly Meetings in time coming ; but shall live orderly in Obedience to the Law, under the Penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. As also, I bind and oblige me, that my whole Tenants and Cotters respectively, their Wives, Bairns and Servants shall likewise refrain, and abstain from the said Conventicles, and other illegal Meetings not Authorized by the Law, and that they shall live orderly in Obedience to the Law. And further, that I, nor they shall Recept, Supply or Commune with forfeited Persons, intercommuned Ministers, or vagrant Preachers, but shall do our utmost endeavour to apprehend their Persons. And in case my said Tenants, Cotters, and their fore-saids shall Contravene ; I shall Take or Apprehend any Person, or Persons guilty thereof, and present them to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be Fined or Imprison'd therefore, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. Otherwise I shall remove them and their Families from off my Ground. And if I shall fail herein, I shall be liable to such Penalties as the said Delinquents have incurred by the Laws, consenting to the Registration hereof in the Books of his Majesty's Privy Council, or Books of any other Judges competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon in Form as Effeirs and Constitutes my Procurators.

This is the Tenor of the Bond ; and lest the Force thereof should be eluded, the Privy Council have declar'd, That every Heritor, that shall receive into his Lands or Service, any Tenants or Servants of any other Heritor, without a Certificate from him, or the Minister of the Parish where they liv'd, that they liv'd orderly as to this Matter, shall be subject to such Fines as the Privy Council shall think fit to inflict, to punish them for their Crime, and repair the Damage that shall accrue to the Heritor or Master, whose Tenants or Servants they did receive. All the Lords of the Privy Council and the Judges (whom we call the Senators of the College of Justice) together with the Advocates
G Writers,

Writers, and all others belonging to the Society of the Lawyers, have taken this Bond, as also the Lords of the Exchequer and the Justiciary Lords, which is a very prevalent Example; and little doubt is made, but the Generality of the Subjects of the Nation will chearfully Sign it, as being so beneficial to Authority, and so proper an Expedient to recover the common People into their Wits. And it cannot possibly give the least umbrage of Scruple to the Conscience of the most weak and peevish Dissenter; being nothing but a purely civil alternative Obligation, to do what the Law requires, or submit to the Penalties therein contain'd. Perhaps it may seem strange in *England*, that a Landlord should be Bound in this manner for his Tenants; but there is nothing more reasonable and customary here, because our Heritors have such a despotic Power over their Tenants, as you cannot well imagine, unless you had liv'd here.

And in case any Persons shall finally refuse to take this Bond (as some *Fife* and *Western* Gentlemen have made difficulty at it) the Privy Council (according to the legal and uncontroverted Practice of that Board in all Ages) hath Ordain'd, that Letters shall be directed to them, to charge them forthwith to give in Security to his Majesty's Privy Council, that They, their Wives, Children, Tenants and Servants, shall keep his Majesty's Peace, and particularly that they shall not go to Conventicles, nor harbor Rebels nor intercommuned Persons; and that they shall keep the Persons, Families, and Goods of their regular Ministers harmless, under the double of every Man's valued Yearly Rent, if he have any, or of such Penalties as shall be thought Convenient by his Majesty's Council or their Committee, if they have none; which if they shall refuse to do within six Days next after the Charge, they are to be declared his Majesty's Rebels (as the manner is here) with Sound of an Horn.

To conclude, the Committee is to proceed to the con-dign Censuring of such, as shall appear upon Proof to have harboured *Welsh* or *Arnott*, or other intercommuned Persons, and such also as have Invited or Convocated the silly People unto the Field-Assemblies, under pretence of hearing Sermons, and such as contributed by Money, Work, or Materials to build the new *Samaritan*-Synagogues; two of which the Earl of *Cassels* was commanded to Demolish in *Carriſt*, as was his Duty to have done before.

All this hath been done under the wise Conduct of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to whose presence among us, next under

under GOD, this poor Church and Religion are redeemable, that they have been preserved from Confusion and Blood. And I question not, but his vigorous Endeavours to suppress this Schism (the like whereof in all respects, was never yet heard of in any Age or Nation) have by this time, effectually confuted all the lying Reports that were sent into *England* by our Men of Schism and Faction, with a Design to render him odious in our Neighbour Countrey, and discredit his Administration here.

But I beg Mr. *Mitchel's*, and your Pardon, for leaving him so long. I could not forbear to intersert this Account of his Western Brethren, whose Confessor he liv'd, and whose Martyr he dy'd. I'll now return to visit him again, and leave him no more till I see him in his Grave.

In the Interval betwixt his Condemnation and Execution, he seldom spoke of his approaching Death, but as of a Martyrdom or Murther; and glory'd that he was accounted worthy to suffer for Christ. This is the Stile of his short Speech, and the frequent Visits, Papers and Messages that he receiv'd from the Brotherhood, to Dye with Courage in the Cause; and to Seal the Truth, that is, the Covenant, with his Blood; together with the frequent Debauches which he made with Ale, Wine and Brandy, contributed very much to heighten his Obstinacy, and make him insensible of his Crime.

You cannot imagine, how much the Fanaticks of all Parts were concern'd about him. From the West, a private Message was sent to the Archbishop, to assure his Grace, That if Mr. *James Mitchel* were Hang'd, another should not fail to Execute his Design. His Majesty's Advocate, who pursu'd him, receiv'd a threatening anonymous Letter; and the common Talk of this Town was, That Mr. *James Mitchel's* Blood should be Reveng'd upon the whole Order: And truly I doubt not, but if all the Fathers of our Church, and all the Clergy under them, had but one Neck, that there are at least 300 Covenanted *Mitchel's* behind, that would strive to cut it off.

In the Year 1668, when he made the Attempt, the Fanatical Party made a Sport of it; and, as if the Ruin of the Church were to follow upon it, many fair Pretenders, that out of Compliance to Authority, had hitherto given our Bishops that particular Veneration that was due to their Character, began now to slight them, and would scarce give them that common Respect which was due to other Men. The like Charge was observ'd upon the late Insolencies of the *Whigs* in the West; the Respect of our Bishops

and Episcopal Clergy, began visibly to decay, and some that were then in a Condition to do the Faction a kindness, had the Confidence to say, That they knew no Reason there was to oppose the Inclinations of the People, to support about a dozen Men.

And while this Martyr of Iniquity lay in Goal, the Mouths of our Fanaticks were full of Railing against the Bishops; and the Rascality, who are often taught to speak the sence of greater Persons, were hear'd to say, That it were better the Primate should be Hang'd than he. In the *Octave* betwixt his Sentence and Execution, he receiv'd, as I was credibly inform'd, 400 Dollars in private Gifts, which was interpreted by the Party for the particular Care that GOD had of him, who never sees *the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging their Bread.*

The Day before his Execution, he sent to the Provost, or Mayor of *Edinburgh*, to desire a Stage larger than ordinary, because he had a great number of Friends, that intended to appear at his Execution in Mourning; but his Lordship was more honest and prudent, than to grant the vain-glorious Villain his desire. When he was upon the Ladder, he called a *Psalm* to be sung. When the *Psalm* was ended, he took out of his *Psalm*-book two Copies of his intended Speech, which he threw among the People; for there had he put them to elude the search. After his Body was cut down, it was convey'd to *Magdalen-Chapel*; from whence it was carried to Burial in great Pomp, being attended with at least 40 Mourners, whereof the *Justice General's Gentleman* was one. 'Tis reported also, that the Hearse-Cloth was of Velvet, but certain it is, it was more than ordinary brave.

The Evening before his Execution, Information was brought to the Provost, That the Women of *Edinburgh* (I mean the Fanatical Part of them) had enter'd into a Conspiracy to rescue him between the Prison and the Gallows; which obliged his Lordship to provide extraordinary Guards, capable to prevent any such Design. This Information was well grounded, if it were not true; for there was never seen such an Appearance of that Sex at any Execution, as was at his, where a Body of at least seven Hundred Sisters stood together almost in *Rank and File.*

The next Morning after his Execution, there were several Copies of his Speech distributed, and Verses put up in several Places of the City.

The following Satyr in *Scottish* I got a Copy of, which I here present unto you, Entitled as it was, to the Memory of Mr. *James Mitchel*.

O-T-ES O-y-es Covenanters,
 Filthy, Cruel, lying Ranters;
 Come here, and see your murdering Martyr
 Sent to Hell i'th' Hangman's Garter;
 Your Sealing Witnesses we hear
 Are Mr. James Mitchel and Major Weir:
 One with his Hand, but had no Pith,
 Th'other your Wives know well wherewith;
 Which makes them sigh, and sighing say,
 Welsh can but Preach, but Weir could Pray.
 It's this that all Religion shames,
 To give Hell's Vices Heavenly names,
 Then Devils, then cast off your Masks;
 Murder and Whoredom are your Tasks,
 Which you to all the World proclaim,
 Boasting and Glor'ing in your Shame,
 And say your Covenant doth allow
 This, Maugre your Baptismal Vow;
 And that the holy Oath doth bind you
 To leave such holy Seed behind you.
 For at, and after your long Prayers,
 You lye together Pairs by Pairs;
 And every private Meeting Place
 Is made a Bawdy-house of Grace:
 You shew it is your loving Natures,
 To be sweet fellow-feeling Creatures.
 But to profane your Holy Order
 With Incest, Buggery and Murder,
 Is plainly to proclaim you Devils,
 And horrid Crimes to be no Evils.
 Mas James Mitchel lay four Year
 In Grissald's House with Major Weir;
 And from his Ghostly Father learns
 To lye with Women and get no Bairns;
 The Mystery of the Tribe, a Trick
 Makes all the Women mad Fanatick;
 And now they both in Hell are met,
 Where for your Company they wait.

Then

Then fill your Measure, and post on
 To your deserv'd Damnation.
 Go Whore and Bugger, Kill and Pray,
 Till every Dog shall have his Day;
 Or go together to Hell in Troops,
 Else strive for new Grass-market Loops.
 He that Whores best, and Murders most,
 Of him the Sect shall always boast;
 And put him, as they've put Mas James,
 Among their Saints and Martyrs Names.

YOU see the *West* is a Place above all others of this Kingdom, wherein Fanaticism most abounds. This must needs awaken your Curiosity to enquire from what Magnetism it is, that our Conventicle-preachers have acquir'd such a strong Verticity to that Point. Truly, the Reason is the same for which yours haunt *London*, and the most opulent Towns and Counties of *England*, even the Riches of the Place. There's a necessity laid upon them to Preach the Gospel there; yea, wo unto them if they Preach it not in *Fife* and the *West*, where so many Rich Traders, and Heritors live. But as for the *Higblands*, and other poorer Counties, they have no Christian Compassion for them, but let them live and dye in Ignorance and Idolatry; because their Souls are not so precious for want of Silver and Gold. I remember when I was at *London* in 76. I heard a Famous Conventicle Minister say, That if it were not for the Non-conforming Ministers, Thousands of Souls in that populous City, would starve for want of the Word. I very much wonder'd to hear him say so, considering how many Hundred Sermons were Preached every Week by the Orthodox Ministers, and the best, I thought, that ever I had heard. But being the next Day in some Company, which was discoursing about the Conventicles, one or two of them began to tell of the great store of Money the Conventicle-Preachers had in the *Banks*, and how some of them kept their Coaches, and he believ'd it would not be long e're their Wives kept their Chairs. Then I began to understand the Reason of the great Care those Gentlemen had to feed the Souls of the good Citizens; and was very glad, that to keep a Coach was no longer a sign of Prelatical Pride. When I return'd home, I told our *Whigs*, that the Non-conformists Ministers of *London* began to keep Coaches; but the greatest part of them would not believe me; and those that did, said with sighs, they were sorry, that there were

were *Diotrephes* among them, that lov'd the Pre-eminence, and that GOD would have a Controversie with them for their *Prelatical Pride*. The like I have seen in a Preface to a *Presbyterian Treatise of Divinity*, Printed about that Time, wherein the Author complains of the *Prelatical Spirit*, that began to shew it self among the Non-conforming Ministers; whereof some living in great Plenty and State, contemned others who were Poor, and whose Lot was fallen in Places, where Persecution did abound.

In the *Scottish Verses*, you see the Poet upbraids their Baptismal Vow with the Covenant; not, as I conceive, upon the common Account, as another Poet may do, but because 'tis the frequent Practice of our *Whig-Preachers* to Baptize the Children of their Disciples into the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as well as into the *Covenant of Grace*. He also takes Notice of the intimate Familiarity betwixt Mr. *Mitchel* and Major *Weir*; and unless you will be at the Pains to read the Life of the latter, as well as the former, you'll never be able to understand the Satyr, nor know whether the Satyrists Indignation be just or unjust. I'll promise you the Narrative shall affect you both with Wonder and Indignation; tho' for the Honour of our Nature and Religion, I wish no such Stories were extant in the World. Nay, confident I am, that when you have consider'd it in all the Circumstances that attend it, you will say, that he was one of the most prodigious Sinners that ever was extant of human Race: For there's nothing in History comparable to him, nor I hope will ever be; and had not our Blessed Saviour told us, that Men may be so wicked, as to Sin beyond Forgiveness, I could scarce have believ'd that any Man, much less a Christian, could have committed *Uncleanness* in all Species, with Women, Devils and Beasts.

But such a Monster was this *Pharisee*, of whom I am going to give you an Account; which is taken out of the public Register of our Criminal Court, and the Authority of Persons of known Integrity, and great Reputation in the World.

Thomas Weir was Born and Bred in the Western Parts of this Kingdom; where he was early prepossessed with the Principles of Schism and Rebellion, which he shew'd upon all occasions, particularly in the Beginning of the late Rebellion, wherein he was a forward Stickler, and by his extraordinary Zeal for the Cause, raised himself to a greater Command in some Troop or Company, than Men of his mean Original use to arrive unto here. About the Year 1649, he had the great Trust of the Guards of this City
com-

committed unto him under the Quality of *Major*; and from that time to the Day of his infamous Death, was always called by the Name of *Major Weir*. He behav'd himself in this Office with great Cruelty and Insolence towards the Loyal Party, being very active in discovering and apprehending the Cavaliers, and bringing them to be Arraign'd and Try'd for their Lives. He used to Insult and Triumph over them in their Miseries, and Persecute them with all manner of Sarcasms and Reproaches, when they were led out like Victims to publick Execution; as many yet alive can testifie to the World. In particular, this barbarous Villain treated the Heroick Marquess of *Montross*, with all imaginable Insolence and Inhumanity when he lay in Prison; making his very Calamities an Argument, that **GOD**, as well as Man, had forsaken him; and calling him *Dog, Atheist, Traytor, Apostate, Excommunicate Wretch*, and many more such intollerable Names. This cruel Manner after which he used to outrage the poor Royalists, pass'd among the People for extraordinary Zeal; and made them consider him as a singular Worthy, whom **G O D** had raised up to support the *Cause*. He studied the Art of Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, always affecting a formal Gravity and Demureness in his Looks and Deportment; and employing a vast and tenacious Memory, which **GOD** had given him, in getting without Book, such Words and Phrases of the Holy Scriptures, as might serve best in all Companies to make him pass for an Holy and Gifted Man. He had acquir'd a particular Gracefulness in Whining and Sighing, above any of the sacred Clan; and had learn'd to deliver himself upon all serious Occasions, in a far more ravishing Accent, than any of their Ministers could attain unto. By these, and other Hypocritical Arts, he had got such a Name for Sanctity and Devotion, that happy was the Man with whom he would converse, and blessed was the Family in which he would vouchsafe to Pray.

For he pretended to Pray only in the Families of such as were Saints of the highest Form; insomuch, that the Brethren and Sisters of these Precincts, would strive who should have him to Exercise in their Houses; and of those that liv'd at a greater distance, some would come forty or fifty Miles to have the Happiness to hear him Pray. He had indeed, but by what Assistance will be seen hereafter, a wonderful fluency in extemporary Prayer, and what thro' Enthusiastical Phrases, Extasies and Raptures, into which he would appear Transported, he made the amazed People presume he was actuated by the Spirit of **G O D**. Besides
praying

praying, he used to Exhort and Bless the Families in which he Pray'd; but he never undertook to Preach in them, for fear of invading the Ministerial Province, which certainly would have offended the *Kirk*.

After this Manner, and in this mighty Reputation he liv'd till the Year 1670, which was the 70th Year of his Age: When, like the Tyrant *Tiberius*, after so many Murthers, and sorts of unnatural Lusts, he was no longer able to endure the Remorse of his awakened Conscience, but to ease the Inquietudes of his guilty Mind, was forced to accuse himself, which he first of all did among those of his own Party, and desir'd them to bring him to publick Justice to expiate for his abominable Crimes. But they, considering what a confounding Scandal and Dishonour, the Hypocrisie of such an eminent Professor would reflect upon the whole Sect, did with all possible Care and Industry, strive to conceal the *Major's* Condition, which they did for several Months, till one of their own Ministers, whom they esteem'd more forward than wise, Reveald the Secret to the Lord *Abbotshall*, then Provost of *Edinburgh*; who judging human Nature incapable of such horrid Crimes, as the Minister told him the *Major* had confessed, concluded he was fallen into a Phrenzy, or high degree of Melancholy; and therefore courteously sent some Physicians of his own Perswasion and Acquaintance, to visit him, and Physick him for his distemper'd Brain. But the Physicians, returning to the Provost, assur'd him, That the *Major* was in good Health, and that he was free of Hypochondriack Distempers, and had as sound Intellectuals as ever; and that they believ'd his Distemper was only an exulcerated Conscience, which could not be eas'd, till he was brought to condign Punishment, as with Cryings and Roarings, he desir'd to be. Afterwards the Provost, for his further satisfaction, sent some Conventicle-Ministers to enquire into his Condition, and make a report thereof; who finding it impossible to disguise the Matter, which now was Town-talk, told his Lordship, That the *Major* was not affected with Melancholy, but that the Terrors of G O D, which were upon his Soul, urg'd him to Confess, and Accuse himself. The Provost therefore began to conclude, that he had good grounds to take publick Notice of this Affair; and therefore without further Enquiry, sent the Guards of the City to seize upon the *Major* and his Sister, who was involv'd in his Confessions, and carry them both to the publick Goal. There they were visited by Persons of all Sorts and Qualities, Clergy-men, Lay-men, Physicians, Lawyers,

Lawyers, Conforming and Non-conforming Ministers, who all flock'd thither to see this Monster, and Discourse with him about his horrible Crimes.

They had not been long in Prison, before they were brought to Tryal, which was on the Ninth of April, 1670. They were Try'd before that Learned Civilian, Mr. William Murray and Mr. John Prestoune, Advocates, who were made Judges by Commission for that Time. They were Pursued by his Majesty's last Advocate, Sir John Nisbett, and the Jury by which they were Try'd, was Gideon Shaw Stationer; James Penderer, Vintner; James Thompson, Felt-maker; Robert Brown, Stationer; James Brown, Felt-maker; Robert Johnston, Skinner; John Clighorn, Merchant; with many more sufficient Citizens of Edinburgh, most of which, together with the greater part of the Witnesses hereafter mention'd, are yet alive.

The Court being set, the Major's Indictment was read, the Sum of which was contain'd in these Four Particulars;

First, That he Enticed and Attempted to Defile his German Sister, Jane Weir, when she was but ten Years Old, or thereabout; and that he lay with her when she was sixteen Years Old, while they both dwelt with their Father; and afterwards had frequent carnal Dealing with her in the House of Wicket-Shaw, in her younger Years: And lastly, That after she was forty Years Old, he lived in a State of Incest with her, in his House at Edinburgh, where they dwelt together many Years.

Secondly, That he committed Incest with Margaret Bourdon Daughter to Mein, his Deceased Wife.

Thirdly, That he committed frequent Adulteries during the Life of his said Wife, both with Married and Unmarried Women; and particularly with Bessy Weems, his Servant-Maid, whom he kept in his House for the space of twenty Years, during which time, he lay with her as familiarly as if she had been his Wife.

Fourthly, That to his Fornications, Adulteries and Incests, he proceeded to add the Unnatural Sin of Bestiality, in lying with Mares and Cows; particularly in Polluting himself with a Mare upon which he rode into the West Country, near New-Mills. All which Crimes particulariz'd in manner aforesaid, he acknowledged judicially at the Bar.

The Sum of his Sister's Indictment, is reducible to these two Heads, First, To the Charge of Incest, which she committed with her Brother: And Secondly, To the Charge of Sorcery and Witchcraft, but most especially of consulting Witches, Necromancers and Devils; and yet more particularly for keeping and conversing with a Familiar Spirit, while she liv'd at Dalkeith,

keith, which us'd to Spin extraordinary quantities of Yarn for her, in a shorter time than three or four Women could have done the same. All which she judicially confessed in the Face of the Court.

Then they proceeded to Swear the Witnesses, which the Lord Advocate call'd for further Probation against them both. Of these, *John Olipant*, *William Johnston* and *Archibald Hamilton*, Aldermen of *Edinburgh* Depon'd, That on the *Monday* preceeding the *Major's* Arraignment, he did freely confess and declare unto them, That he had committed frequent Incests with his Sister *Jane*; divers Fornications and Adulteries with other Persons; and Beastiality with a *Mare* and a *Cow*, Master *John Sinclair*, a Conventicle-Minister, Depon'd, That the Day before his Tryal, he freely confessed unto him, that he was guilty of Adultery, Incest and Beastiality; and that his Sister had been often taken out of Bed from him: Whereupon asking him if he had ever seen the Devil, he answer'd, That he had felt him in the Dark. But as to his Conversation with the Devil, the Deponent might have declared more; for he had confessed to him and many others, particularly to the Lord Bishop of *Galloway*, then Minister of *Edinburgh*, that he had lain with the Devil in the shape of a Beautiful Woman.

Margaret Weir, Wife to *Alexander Weir*, Bookseller in *Edinburgh*, Testify'd, That when she was of the Age of 27 Years, or thereabouts, she found the *Major* her Brother, and her Sister *Jane*, lying together in the Barn at *Wicket-Shaw*; and that they were both Naked in the Bed together, and that she was above him, and that the Bed did Shake, and that she heard some scandalous Language between them in particular, that her Sister said, she was confident she should prove with Child. Furthermore, she Deponed, That *Catharine Cooper*, a Servant of the *Major's*, told her, That he had lain with *Margaret Bourdon* his Wife's Daughter, so that she would stay no longer in the House.

Anne, Wife to *James Simpson*, Bookbinder in *Edinburgh*, declared, That on *Monday* preceeding, and that Day in the Morning, that he confessed to her he had committed Incest with his Sister *Jane*, and *Margaret Bourdon* his Wife's Daughter; as likewise Beastiality with a *Mare* in the West-Country; and that he had Carnally conversed with his Maid-servant *Bessy Weems* for two and twenty Years.

Mr. *Archibald Nisbett*, Writer to the Signet, Declared, That in the Year 51 or 52, it was reported in the Country, that the *Major* had committed Bestiality with a *Mare* near

Mills; and that he heard it reported the same Day, in which it was said he did the Fact. Mr. *John Alexander* of *Leith*, Deponed the same, and said he was then but half a Mile from the Place. After these Depositions, the *Major* being Examined about his Act of Beastiality, declared, That a Gentleman having given him a Mare, he rode upon her into the West-Country, to see some Friends, and dealt Carnally with her near *New-Mills*; and that a Woman saw him in the Act, and complained of him to Mr. *John Nave* the Minister of *New-Mills*; at whose instance he was brought back to the Place by some Soldiers, but was there dismissed for want of further Probation. And further being asked about the time, he answered, That to the best of his Remembrance, it was when the Lords, Gentlemen, and Heritors were taken by the *English* at *Elliot*.

As for Probation against *Jane Weir*, the Lord Advocate insisted on her own Declaration, and all the Depositions, in which as a Party she was involv'd. And being asked if she knew any thing concerning the Correspondence that was said to be betwixt the Devil and her Brother; she declared, that she had a long time been jealous of it, but was not certain; and that six or seven Years before, she had found a Mark upon his Shoulder, like that which is called the Devil's Mark, at which she was sore afraid.

The Process being thus Ended, the Jury did unanimously find the *Major* Guilty of Incest with his Sister, and Beastiality with a Mare and with a Cow, and found him Guilty of Adultery and Fornication by a Plurality of Votes. They also unanimously brought in *Jane* Guilty of Incest with her Brother; whereupon the Deputed Judges Sentenced him to be Strangl'd at a Stake betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, on *Monday* following the 11th of *April*, and his Body to be Burnt to Ashes; and Condemned her to be Hang'd on the *Tuesday* following, in the *Grass-Market* of *Edinburgh*.

Thus far have I given you a juridical Account of the detestable Crimes of this Hypocritical Monstrous Man; I now proceed to acquaint you with some other particulars, no less surprizing than the former; which upon strict enquiry I have Reason to believe to be as true, as those that are judicially prov'd.

When they were seiz'd, she desir'd the Guards to keep him from laying hold on a certain Staff, which, she said, if he chanc'd to get into his Hand, he would certainly drive them all out of Doors, notwithstanding all the Resistance they could make. This Magical-Staff was all of one piece, with a crooked Head of Thorn-wood: She said

said he receiv'd it of the Devil, and did many wonderful things with it; particularly that he used to lean upon it in his Hypocritical Prayers; and after they were Committed, she still desir'd it might be kept from him; because if he were once Master of it again, he would certainly grow Obdurate, and retract the Confessions which he had so publicly made. *Apollonius Thyaneus* had such a Magical Staff as this, which I believe was a Sacramental Symbol which the Devil gave to the *Major*, and the Court had some such Apprehensions of it, for it was order'd by the Judges to be Burnt with his Body.

She also confessed in Prison, That she and her Brother had made a Compact with the Devil; and that on the 7th of September, 1648, they were both Transported from *Edinburgh* to *Musselborough*, and back again, in a Coach and six Horses, which seemed all on Fire, and that the Devil then told the *Major* of the defeat of our Army at *Preston* in *England*; which he confidently reported in most of its Circumstances several Days before the News had Arrived here. This Prediction did much increase the high Opinion the People began to have of him, and served him to make them believe, that, like *Moses*, he had been with GOD in the *Mount*, and had a Spirit of Prophecy as well as of Prayer. But as for her Self, she said, She never receiv'd any other Benefit by her Commerce with the Devil, than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of Yarn, which she was sure (she said) to find ready for her upon the Spindle, what ever Business she had been about.

Besides the Bestialities which the *Major* judicially acknowledged he had Committed with the Mare and Cow, he confessed he had done the same Abominations with three Species more; and the Woman that delated him for the Fact near *New-Mills*, was by order of the Magistrates of *Lanerk*, Whipp'd through the Town by the Hand of the Common Hang-man, as a Slanderer of such an eminent holy Man.

The Fornications and Adulteries which this ἀλογευσμένος (as Buggerers are † call'd by the Council of *Ancyra*) Committed with the most Sanctimonius and Zealous Women of the Sect, are too numerous to be related here. He had got himself the Privilege, under a pretence of Praying and Exhortation, to go to their Houses, and into their Bed-Chambers when he pleas'd; and it was his Practice to visit Married Women at such times especially as their Husbands were

† Can. 16.

were from Home : One especially, who liv'd in the Street called the *West-bow* in *Edinburgh*; he had several times solicited in her Husband's Absence to gratifie his unclean Desires; till at last, wearied out with his Importunity, she told him how she abhorr'd his Design, and charg'd him never to come more to her House. Upon this he forbore to visit her for some time, till one Night, when she was undress'd and ready to step into Bed, the *Major* suddenly appears standing by her, at which she was so extreemly frightened, that she fell into a Swoun; she had no sooner recover'd, but the *Major* endeavour'd to comfort and assure her, and confirm her against that strange surprize; and renewing his Addresses, he Tempted her with many Arguments and filthy Speeches, and Gesticulations, telling her he had taken that Marvellous way of appearing in Private with her, on purpose to secure her Reputation; that he would go out of her House in a manner as invisible as he came in. But she by this time having recover'd her usual Courage and Strength, push'd him off with violence, and cry'd out for help to her Maid; upon which he immediately disappear'd. The Windows and Doors were all close shut, and I make little doubt, but his Coachman to the fiery Coach, convey'd him in and out through the Chimney, or perhaps by the Door, which the cursed Familiar might open and shut again, as well as the Angel of the Lord did unlock and lock the Prison-Door, wherein the Apostles were put.

As for the miserable Woman, she was never well after this Magical manner of Address, which the lusty *Satyr* made unto her; but immediately fell into a deep Melancholy, which ended in a languishing Sickness, whereof not many Weeks after she Died: And when she was upon her Death-bed, she declared this strange Story to many Persons yet alive, of great Integrity, Wisdom and Fame.

I have already told you, what an active Rebel this Multiform Sinner was; but I forgot to tell you, that he was an eminent Promoter of the *Western Remonstrance* in the Year 1650. To these Principles he stuck as close, as to the Devil himself; insomuch, that when the Government of our Church was Restor'd, he avowedly renounced the Communion of it, and endeavour'd to widen the Schism to the utmost of his Power. He could not so much as indure to look upon an Orthodox Minister, but when he met any of them in the Streets, he would pull his Hat over his Eyes in a Pharisaical kind of Indignation and Contempt,

While

While he was in Prison, he acknowledged his Hypocrisie, by which he had deluded Men and mock'd GOD; declaring, that in all his Life he had never prayed to GOD in private, nor had any Power to speak when he attempted to do it; although he had such an extraordinary and charming Utterance in his solemn Conventicle-Prayers. He also confessed, that he never bow'd his Knee to GOD at his own, or other Mens Prayers; which exactly agrees with his Sisters Relation, of his leaning at his Prayers on his Magical-Staff; and none of his own Party can Remember that at any Devotion, even when he seem'd most Rapturous, they ever saw him Kneel. Nay, furthermore, he confessed, which I cannot mention without horror, that his fluency in Prayer, by which he ravish'd the People, proceeded from the Assistance of the Devil; who, he said, helped him to the Words and Phrases in which he expressed himself. This hath given several Men several ways of Conjecture how it could be done. Some who knew him better than I ever had the unhappiness to do, are of Opinion, that he was the praying Oracle of the Devil, out of whom he Personally spoke. The Reason which they alledge for their Conjecture is, that sometimes the Sound of his Voice, like the sight of Spirits, had something unnatural in it, as if it had not been form'd by the Organs of Speech.

Others think it Reasonable to believe, That he saw all the Words and Expressions in his Prayer successively written by the Devil in the Air. But upon Enquiry, I find that he, like most of the *Extemporarians*, commonly prayed with his Eyes shut; which if it be true, this Hypothesis will never be able to solve those Diabolical *Phænomena* in the Air.

Some again think, That the Words and Expressions of his Prayer, were represented by the Devil upon the Stage of his Fancy, after the same manner, as when a Man Dreams he reads such a Letter or Book. But he never was affected with any Consternations, Tremblings, or Abreptions of Mind, which both in true and false Prophets, were the constant Effects of such strong and violent Impressions, as were requir'd to exhibit such unwonted Representations upon the Imagination; nor after his long Prayers were ended, were his natural Strength or Spirits exhausted, as, if his Devotion had been *Visionary*, they must have been.

Others therefore, considering him as an Apostate from GOD, and as a Vassal and Apostle of the Devil, think it very agreeable to Divinity to assert, That he was immediately

diately, but yet without much violence, inspir'd by the Devil, and helped by him both in the Conception and Utterance of his Prayers. This they conceive, the Evil Spirit might do, like an *assistant Form*, by impregnating his Fancy with Enthusiastical Conceptions, and thereby rendring his Imagination very turgent, and ready to swell above its Banks; which being done by the immediate Operation of the *Evil Spirit*, the wretched *εὐεργετικός* could not fail to burst forth in *Flumine Orationis*, or a full Torrent of Prayer; and likewise be affected with such moderate Raptures, as yet left him in a condition to understand what he said. Furthermore, to prevent all possible Objections, they say, That if GOD suffer'd the Devil to counterfeit Prophetical Visions, or the true Spirit of Prophecy under the Law, then they know no Reason, why it should be thought inconsistent with his Goodness, or disagreeable to his infinite Wisdom, to permit him under the Gospel, to counterfeit Inspiration, or the true Spirit of Prayer. But for my own part, had not the Monster himself ascribed his fluency in Devotion to the Assistance of the Devil, I should have wholly ascribed it to the Vigour of his own Enthusiastical Imagination, without any foreign Force. For not only his fluency in Prayer, but the moderate Raptures, and little extatick Fits, into which he was Transported, are explicable by the natural Power of unassisted Imagination, as I could make it out by many Examples; and where a natural Cause alone is sufficient to account for any Effect, I am always sparing to joyn with it a Supernatural Cause.

All the while he was in Prison, he lay under violent Apprehensions of the heavy Wrath of GOD, which put him into that which is properly called Despair; a Despair which made him hate GOD, and desist from Duty to him, and with which the damned Souls in Hell are reasonably supposed to be constantly affected. In this Sense he was desperate, and therefore would admit neither *Church* nor *Conventicle* Ministers to Pray for him, or Discourse with him about the infinite Mercy of GOD, and the Possibility of the Forgiveness of his Sins. Much less could he endure to be Exhorted to Repent, or be brought to entertain any Thoughts of Repentance; telling all the World, that he had Sinned himself beyond all Possibility of Repentance and Pardon, that he was already Damn'd, that he was sure his Condemnation to Eternal Burnings was already pronounced in Heaven, and that the United Prayers of all the Saints in Heaven and Earth, would be vain and insignificant, if they were offer'd to GOD in his behalf. So that when some

Charitable

Charitable Ministers of the City, by Name the present Bishop of *Galloway*, and Dean of *Edinburgh*, were resolv'd to Pray before him for his Repentance and Pardon, against his Consent, he was with much difficulty with-held from interrupting of them in their Devotions, and the posture he put himself in when they began to Pray, was to lye upon his Bed in a most stupid manner, with his Mouth wide open; and when Prayers were ended, being ask'd if he had heard them and attended to them, he told them, *They were very troublesome, and cruel to him; and that he neither heard their Devotion, nor cared for it, nor could be the better for all the Prayers that Men or Angels could offer up to Heaven upon his Account.*

It was his Interest to believe there was no G O D; and therefore to ease the Torments of his Mind, he attempted now and then to comfort, and flatter up himself into this absurd belief. For he was sometimes observ'd to speak very doubtfully about his Existence; in particular to say, That if it were not for the Terrors which he found Tormenting him within, he should scarce believe there was a G O D.

Being with great Tenderness and Compassion besought by one of the City-Ministers, that he would not so resolvedly destroy himself, by despairing of G O D's Mercy, which upon Repentance had been granted to Murtherers, Adulterers, Sodomists, Bestialists, nay, to those that had deny'd Christ; he reply'd, in Anger, *Trouble me no more with your beseeching of me to Repent, for I know my Sentence of Damnation is already seal'd in Heaven; and I feel my self so hardned within, that if I might obtain Pardon of G O D, and all the glories of Heaven for a single wish that I had not committed the Sins, with the sence whereof I am so tormented, yet I could not prevail with myself to make that single wish. And were your Soul in my Soul's stead, you would find your Exhortations impertinent and troublesome, for I find nothing within me but Blackness and Darkness, Brimstone and Burning to the bottom of Hell.* I have been told by very credible Persons, that the Body of this unclean Beast gave manifest Tokens of its impurity, as soon as it began to be heated by the Flames; and certain it is, that after it was Burnt, a Report was presently sent from hence to the Brethren in the *West*, that the Malefactor, who was Burnt for such execrable Crimes, was not *Major Weir*, but another Person who exactly resembled him, and whom the wicked *Prelates* and *Curates* had Bribed to Personate the Godly *Major* (who was said to be gone with a Contribution to the exiled Brethren in *Holland*) and call himself by his Name, This

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Report

Report was believ'd in the *West* for several Months, till time discover'd that the *Major* was no more.

As for *Jane*, this incarnate Devil's Sister, she was very insensible of her great Sins, and was so far from Remorse of Conscience for them, and Despairing of the Mercy of GOD, as she did, that she presum'd too much upon it; placing a great deal of Confidence in her constant adherence to the *Covenant*, which she call'd in her Brother *Mitchel's* Stile, *The Cause and Interest of Christ*. She confest indeed, as he did, that her Sins deserv'd a worse Death than she was condemn'd to Dye; but she never shew'd her self in the least concern'd for what might ensue after Death. When she was upon the Ladder, she bespoke the People in the following Words, *I see a great Croud of People come hither to Day to behold a poor old miserable Creatures Death, but I trow there be few among you, who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant*: And having so spoken, she threw her self in greater haste off the Ladder than a Person should have done, who was no better prepar'd for another World.

I could tell you many more remarkable Stories of our *Fanatick Zealots*, that have been put to Death for lying with Beasts, and other unnatural Crimes. One not many Years since was put to Death at *Sterling* for committing Uncleanness with five individual, among which there were four Species of irrational Animals; and immediately before his Execution, the unclean Wretch protested against the *Prelates*, and boasted of his constant Zeal for the *Covenant*; and so without declaring any Detestations of his Crimes, or desiring the People to Pray for him, went off with all Assurance into the other World. I should not have related any of these Stories, with Reflection on the Schismatical Party, but that nine parts in ten of the horrid Sins, such as *Witchcraft*, *Beastiality* and *Incest*, are found among them; which hath occasion'd a Proverbial Sarcasm in our Language against them, *That the Whigs go to Heaven a Gate of their own*. This is no Hyperbole, but a plain Historical Truth, which our Judges can testify, and which may be confirm'd by the Registers of our Criminal Courts.

And then as for Adulteries and Fornications, those common Failings of these Pharisees; there are more of them committed, and more Bastards Born within their Country, the *Western Holy Land* than in all our Nation besides. This is evident from comparing the Parish Registers, and the Registers of the Presbyteries, or Rural Deaneries of those Shires, with the rest of the Parish, and Presbytery Registers in every Diocess of the Church. Not very long
since,

Since, in a Parish within the Presbytery of *Pafely*, there were no fewer than 17 *Whigs*, who did publick Penance for Fornications and Adulteries, at one time. The Parish is very disaffected, so that on that Lord's Day, wherein this Herd of Goats did stand in the Seat of publick Repentance; there were but two Regular Persons, besides the Minister and Precentor in the Church. I know you are already wondering, that Fanatical Sinners will do Penance in the *Kirk*, which is as serious and solemn a piece of Worship, as any belongs to the Service of G O D.

Therefore to unriddle the *Paradox* unto you, be pleas'd to take Notice, That if any Fornicator, Adulterer, &c. Contumaciously refuse to submit to Church-Censure, his Majesty's Advocate is to pursue him before the Supreme Judicature, or Lords of the Session; who, upon Evidence of his Contumacy, issue out Order for having him declar'd the *King's Rebel*, that is, to be solemnly Denounc'd an *Out-Law*, with the Sound of an Horn. After the Denunciation, Letters of Caption are direct against him; so that if he be taken, he must be put in Prison; and although he be not, he forfeits his Personal, and the Annual Revenues of his Real Estate, and becomes altogether ἀνεῳστος, as *Theophilus*, the Greek Civilian, calls *Slaves* and *Minors*, and all that are *Civily Dead*. Hence an *Out-Law* is almost in the same Condition with us, as *Deportatus in Insulam*, was among the *Romans*; he is incapable of all Civil Employment: He hath no *Head* in Law; he can make no Will or Testament of his own, nor receive any Benefit by any other Man's. So that our *Whigs* (like yours, who will be Married by the *Common-Prayer*) choose rather to mock G O D, and offend their tender Consciences sometimes, than forfeit their Liberty and Estates.

I am very well satisfy'd in my own Conscience, that I have done nothing against the strictest Rules of Christian Charity, in discovering the impious Principles and Practices of this Sect: I have done it upon the same Grounds and Motives, that the Ancient Fathers publish'd the wicked Lives and Opinions of the more primitive *Hereticks*; particularly of the *Gnosticks*, who were the Archetype of our *Whigs*: And the Parallel in most particulars runs so exact between them, that I cannot abstain from comparing them together.

First then, As the *Gnosticks* were so call'd from *Ψευδόνους γνώσει*, or Knowledge, falsely so call'd, and boasted that they were the most Knowing; altho' they really were the most Ignorant of the Christian Religion, of any Sect in the World

World: So our Whigs stile themselves the Knowing Christians, and look upon us who adhere to the Church, but as ignorant, silly, formal People, that understand not Gospel Mysteries, but are spoil'd after the Tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after *Christ*.

Secondly, As the *Gnosticks* pretended to understand the Scriptures better than all other *Christians*; and yet did most absurdly and blasphemously Interpret them, as *Epiphanius* hath shew'd in many particulars: So our *Whigs* pretend to this Gift as their own peculiar Talent; and yet Interpret the Word of *G O D* as absurdly, to make it comply with their wicked Opinions, as the *Gnosticks* did to make it Countenance theirs. Mr. *Mitchel's* Papers are full Proof of this Charge, besides the Books I mention'd before.

Thirdly, As the *Gnosticks* spoke *ἱπέρβυλα*, or mighty high Things of *Simon Magus*, equalling him with *G O D*; so our *Whigs* speak big-swalling Words of *Baal-berith*, or the *Solemn League and Covenant*; to which they ridiculously Apply, whatsoever is said of the Covenant of Grace, which *G O D* made with *Abraham*, and of that Political Covenant which he made with the *Jews*, and of the Counterpart of it; which the *Jews*, or any of their Kings made and renew'd with *G O D*; Baptizing their Children into it, as into the Covenant of the Gospel, and making it the Cause, and Interest, and Truth of *Christ*.

Fourthly, As the *Gnosticks* pretended to be *Christians*, and yet in many Things comply'd with the wicked *Jews*, and joined with them in raising Persecution against the Church: So our *Whigs* pretend to be the purest *Protestants* in the World; and yet in many Things are real *Papists*, and now joyn most Cordially with them to over-throw both our and your Church; which the *Papists* acknowledge to be the strongest Bulwark against themselves, that are in the Protestant World.

Fifthly, As the *Gnosticks* contumeliously used the Apostles and Presbyters of the Primitive Church, hating them with the Malice of *Cain*, and gain-saying them among the People after the impudent manner of *Corah*, and opposing them as *Jannes* and *Jambres* did *Moses* and *Aaron*; so our *Whigs* treat our Reverend Clergy with all imaginable Contempt and Barbarity; hating our Bishops with a mortal Hatred, calling their Government an Usurpation over *G O D's* Heritage; and rail at his Majesty, and all other Magistrates that support them; Binding and Re-binding themselves by a Solemn Oath, to Extirpate the Apostolical Function

Function, though in doing of it they should Shed an Ocean of Protestant Blood.

Sixthly, As the *Gnosticks* were a fierce, tumultuous and troublesome People, so are the *Whigs*: As they despised Dominions, and spoke evil of Dignities, so do the *Whigs*; as they were Murmurers and Complainers, so are the *Whigs*; who by their Principles can never be satisfy'd with any Concessions, nor obliged by any Favours; but must Murmur and Complain against *Moses* and *Aaron*, as long as there's a King, and Bishops in the Land.

Seventhly, As the *Gnosticks* Scorn'd and Despis'd the Orthodox Christians, and separated from them; calling them Carnal, but themselves Spiritual Men; and yet were Sensualists, Defilers of the Flesh, and like the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrbeans*, given to unnatural Lusts: So our modern Pharisees Scorn us, calling us Carnal, or at the best but Moral Men; and while they pretend to be Holier than the People that adhere to the Church, they fall into all sorts of Impurities to the great Scandal of the Protestant Name.

I am not so uncharitable as to conclude every individual among our *Whigs* in this comparative Character; for doubtless there are many well-meaning People among them; but you must understand me so, as our Saviour is to be understood, where he describes the general Hypocrisie of the Pharisees, among whom notwithstanding were many sincere and pious Men.

In this sense it was that St. *Paul* charg'd the whole Nation of the *Cretians*, with the Character of one of their old Poets, *That they were Lyers, evil Beasts, and slow Bellies*; and for my own Part, I believe that among the *Gnosticks* themselves, there were a considerable number that liv'd free from those portentous Sins, with which St. *Jude*, and *Epiphanius* charges the Sect.

P O S T S C R I P T.

YOU may Communicate this Letter to as many of your Friends as you please; but you must take Care to conceal my Name, least if it be known, I pass for an Enemy to the People of GOD; and thereupon another *Mitchel* send me out of the World for a *Canaanite* or *Egyptian* with a brace of Bullets, or a *Durke*. The Narratives, I humbly conceive, are very profitable to be known: One of them affords an excellent Example of counterfeit Zeal, and the other of Hypocrisie, or *Pharisaism*; which from
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the Beginning of Things, hath always been the most powerful Engine, which the *Coraks* of all Ages and Nations have used to draw the Multitude into Faction and Schism. Besides, the Knowledge of these things will move all good Christians to pity the miserable Condition of our Church, and to Pray for Her both to G O D, and the King; and likewise undeceive all ingenuous Spirits, that have had the unhappiness to be Misguided by the false Informations which our Fanaticks send to yours. There is a more strict and mysterious Correspondence betwixt them, than the present Pains, in which I write, will permit me to relate. But in a short time, I shall be able to discover the *Cabala* unto you. In the mean time, let us Love, Honour, and Remember one another with Pleasure and Respect, Let us Pray for the Improvement of our Church, the Preservation of yours, and serve them both in our several Stations, to the utmost of our Power.

P. S. When you write next, Remember that my Title is *Advocate*, and not *Councillor at Law*; for no one knows here what the latter means.

I Remain

Edindurgh, March
the 5th, 1677.

Your most Faithful
and Obedient Servant.

FINIS.

T H E
S E C O N D
L E T T E R.

S I R;

IN the deepest Sorrow, I now transmit to You, a Brief Narration of the Fanaticks unparalell'd Villany, which they have at last committed, upon the Body of that most worthy Prelate, the Archbishop of *St Andrews*; for according to *Mitchel's* Example, who gloried at his last Breath, in his Hellish Attempt *Anno 1668.* which, tho' he fail'd of, others of the same Spirit were resolved to finish what he had begun, and God to fill up the Measure of their Iniquities, suffer'd them to accomplish in the following Manner.

His Grace had been assisting at the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*, from whence he went over into *Fife* the 2d of *May 1679*, and lodg'd that Night at a Village between *Burnt Island* and *St. Andrews*, about Mid-Night two Men well mounted and arm'd, enquir'd in the Village

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lage, if the *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews* was not there? And receiving an Answer in the Affirmative, immediately rode away.

About 9 the next Morning the *Arch bishop* took Coach, he had only his Daughter with him, and three Servants on Horseback to attend him, one of whom he had sent with a Compliment to a Person of Honour, near whose House he was to pass, and pursued his Journey with great Security, till he came to a small Village call'd *Magus*, about two Miles distant from *St. Andrews*, between 11 and 12 a Clock in the Forenoon; there he first perceiv'd himself to be pursu'd by about 12 Horsemen with Pistols in their Hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Arms, upon which the Coachman drove as fast as six good Horses cou'd gallop, they pursuing and firing at the Coach, till at length one of them nam'd *Balfour*, who was the best mounted, overtook the Coach, and having wounded the Postilion, shot one of the foremost Horses, and hamstring'd the other, and so stopp'd the Coach.

The rest of the Murtherers then came up, and one of them fir'd a Pistol so near his Breast, that it sing'd his Gown, then calling him *Dog, Apostate, Betrayer of the Godly, Persecutor of Christ's Church*, &c. they bid him come out of his Coach, and receive the Reward of his Wickedness against the *Kirk of Scotland*.

Upon this his Daughter alighting out of the Coach fell upon her Knees, and with Prayers and Tears begg'd her Father's Life, but they threw her down, trampled on her and wounded her, which her tender-hearted Father seeing, came out of the Coach, and calmly told them

them, he did not know he had ever injur'd any of them, if he had, he was ready to make Reparation, beseeching them to spare his Life, and he wou'd never trouble 'em for that Violence; but pray'd 'em to consider before they brought the Guilt of innocent Blood upon themselves.

The Reverence of his Person, and his compos'd Carriage, surpriz'd the Villains, and one of them relenting, cry'd, spare these grey Hairs, but their hot Zeal consuming their natural Pity, the others reply'd, He must Die, he must die, calling him Traiterous Villain, Judas, Enemy to God and his People, and telling him he must now receive the Reward of his Apostacy and Enmity to the People of God.

He then beg'd time to pray, telling them he wou'd pray for them, but they scornfully told him, they cared not for his Prayers, they were sure God wou'd not hear so base a Dog as he was: Then looking stedfastly on one of the Assassins, he kneel'd down to him and said, Sir, you are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last Favour from you, that since you are resolv'd I must die, you will have Pity upon my poor Child here, and spare her Life, and for this, Sir, give me your Hand, and stretching out his at the Time, the barbarous Wretch gave him a Blow with a Sabre which almost cut it off, and with another Blow wounded him two Inches over the Left Eye and one below it; this Stroke knock'd him down, but getting upon his Knees again, he said, Gentlemen it is enough, you have done your Work, and holding up his Hands towards Heaven as well as he could, fervently cry'd out, Lord Jesus have Mercy upon my Soul and receive my Spirit, they still wounding him till he quietly

ly laid down his Head upon his Arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all*, and with these Words expir'd, after which they gave him divers Wounds on the Head, some of them to make sure Work stirring his Brains in his Skull with the Points of their Swords.

This barbarous Murther was committed the 3d of *May*; and the 8th the Party here, procur'd an Address from the Commons to the King, to accuse Duke *Lauderdale* as a Promoter of Arbitrary and Destructive Councils, and for contriving and endeavouring to raise Misunderstandings between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, whereby *Hostilities might have ensued, and may arise between both Nations, if not prevented*; and therefore to desire he might be remov'd from his Majesty's Councils, and from all Employments and Places of Trust; which Address being presented, the next Day the King told them, he wou'd consider of it, and return an Answer.

In the mean time this Address was sent after the Speech to *Scotland*, where it found all Things ripe for a Rebellion; the Murther of so illustrious a Person as the Primate of that Kingdom, and a Privy Councillor in so barbarous a Manner, was not to be smother'd; so that the Fear of a just Punishment, and the Hopes of Assistance from their Friends here, who had begun with Duke *Lauderdale*, the Man in the World most hated and fear'd by them, concurr'd to push 'em forward to an open Rebellion, which perhaps they expected to be as well paid for, as for beginning that against King *Charles I.*

Accord-

Accordingly about fourscore of them came to *Ragland* the 29th of *May* 1679, where they proclaim'd the Covenant, burnt several Acts of Parliament, and affix'd a *Rebellious Declaration* on the Market Cross, and attempted the like at *Glasgow*, but were prevented by some of the King's Forces there.

On the *Sunday* following they rendezvous'd upon *London Hill*, being then 14 or 1500 Men well arm'd in good Order, the Foot command-ed by one *Weir*, and the Horse by *Balfour* and *Hackston*, two of the Murtherers of the Arch-Bishop, and by *Robert Hamilton* and one *Patron*. Captain *Graham* of *Claverhouse*, (afterwards Lord *Dundee*.) marched against them with a Troop of Horse and a Company of Dragoons; but after a brisk Engagement, being so much overpower'd in Numbers, was obliged to retire. Flush'd with this Success, on *Monday* the 2d of *June* the Rebels made two Attacks on the City of *Glasgow*, in both which they were repuls'd with considerable Loss; but afterwards their Strength encreasing, they possess'd themselves of it, and issu'd their Proclamation, imperiously commanding the Magistrates to turn out all the *Arch-bishops, Bishops and Curates, their Bairns and Servants, and all Families and Persons concern'd in the King's Army within 48 Hours, under the highest Pains*. They also publish'd another Declaration, to demand Redress of their pretended Grievances, and invite their Brethren to join them, and committed great Outrages there, and in the Country adjacent.

In the mean Time the Council of *Scotland* were not Idle, but rais'd an Army, which they quarter'd so as to prevent the Approach of the Covenanters to *Edinburgh*, and sent the King Accounts of what pass'd, expecting his Majesty's further Orders.

Upon deliberating this Affair in Council, the King was for suppressing the Rebellion immediately by Forces from hence to be dispatch'd, and joined with those in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all: *Shaftsbury* plainly shew'd at Council and in other Places, that he was unwilling it should be wholly or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise then by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might thereby be introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, and who no doubt would have husbanded it till a better Opportunity; yet on the other side was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a Command, so that Duke was sent down, and on the 22d of *June* fought and routed the Rebels at *Bothwell Bridge*, killing about 800 on the spot, and taking 11 or 1200 Prisoners, by which this Insurrection was crush'd, and the Country reduc'd to Peace and Order.

Edinburgh,
Jan. 20. 1679.

I remain,

Sir, entirely Yours.

F I N I S.

Fanatical Moderation or, unparalell'd villany display'd, being a faithful narrative of the barbarous murther comitted upon the most reverend father in god, Dr. James Sharpe, Lord Archbishop of Andrews, by the Scotch Presbyterians, May the 3d, 1679 ; With the account at large of an attempt upon his life anno 1668, by one Mitchel a Presbyterian Minister, for which

London 1711

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